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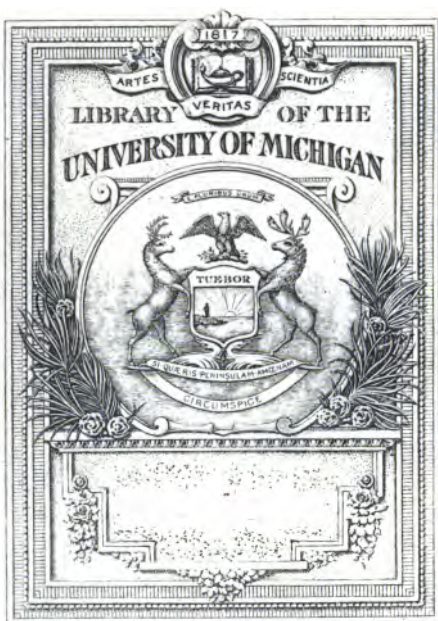
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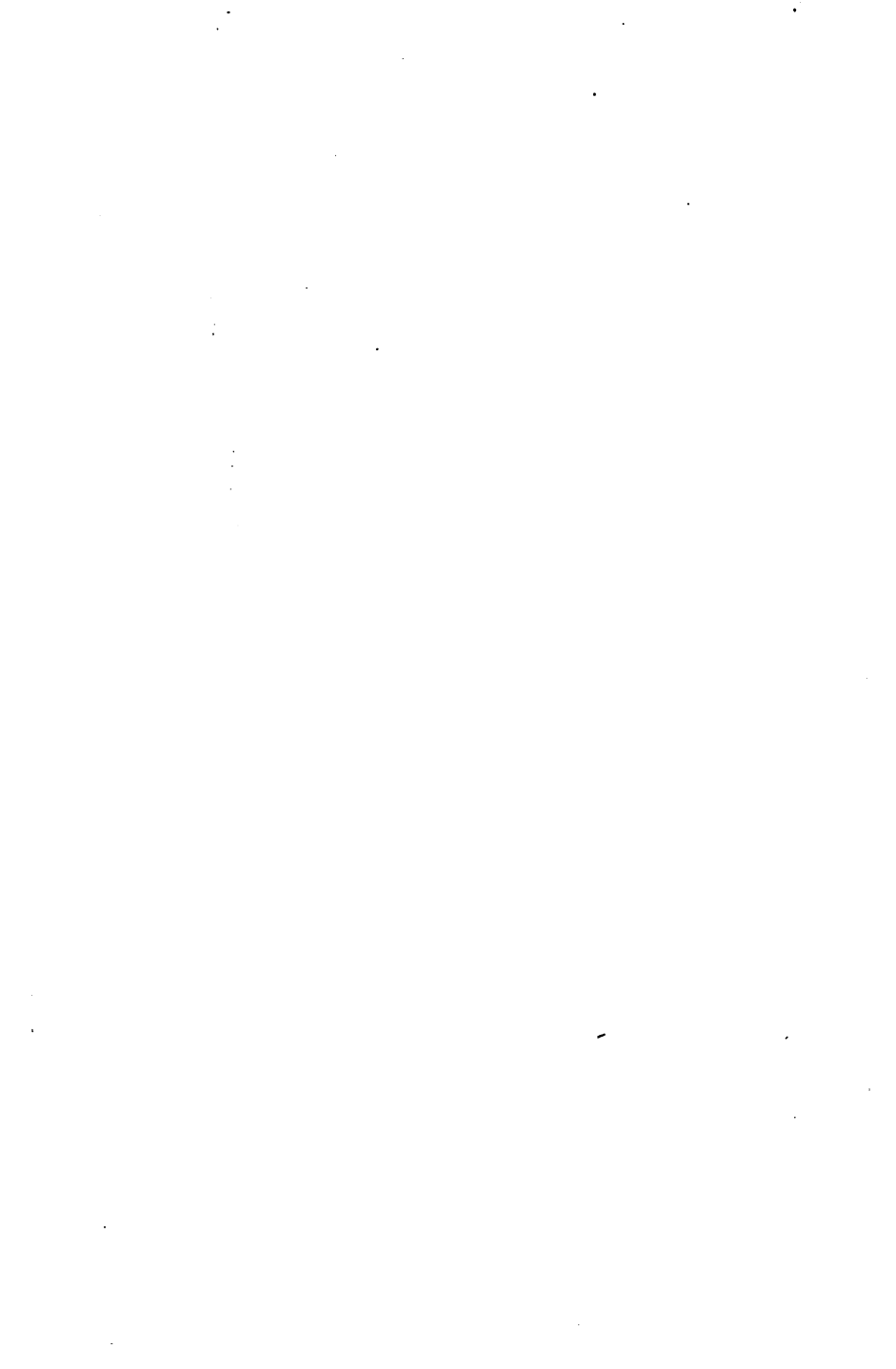
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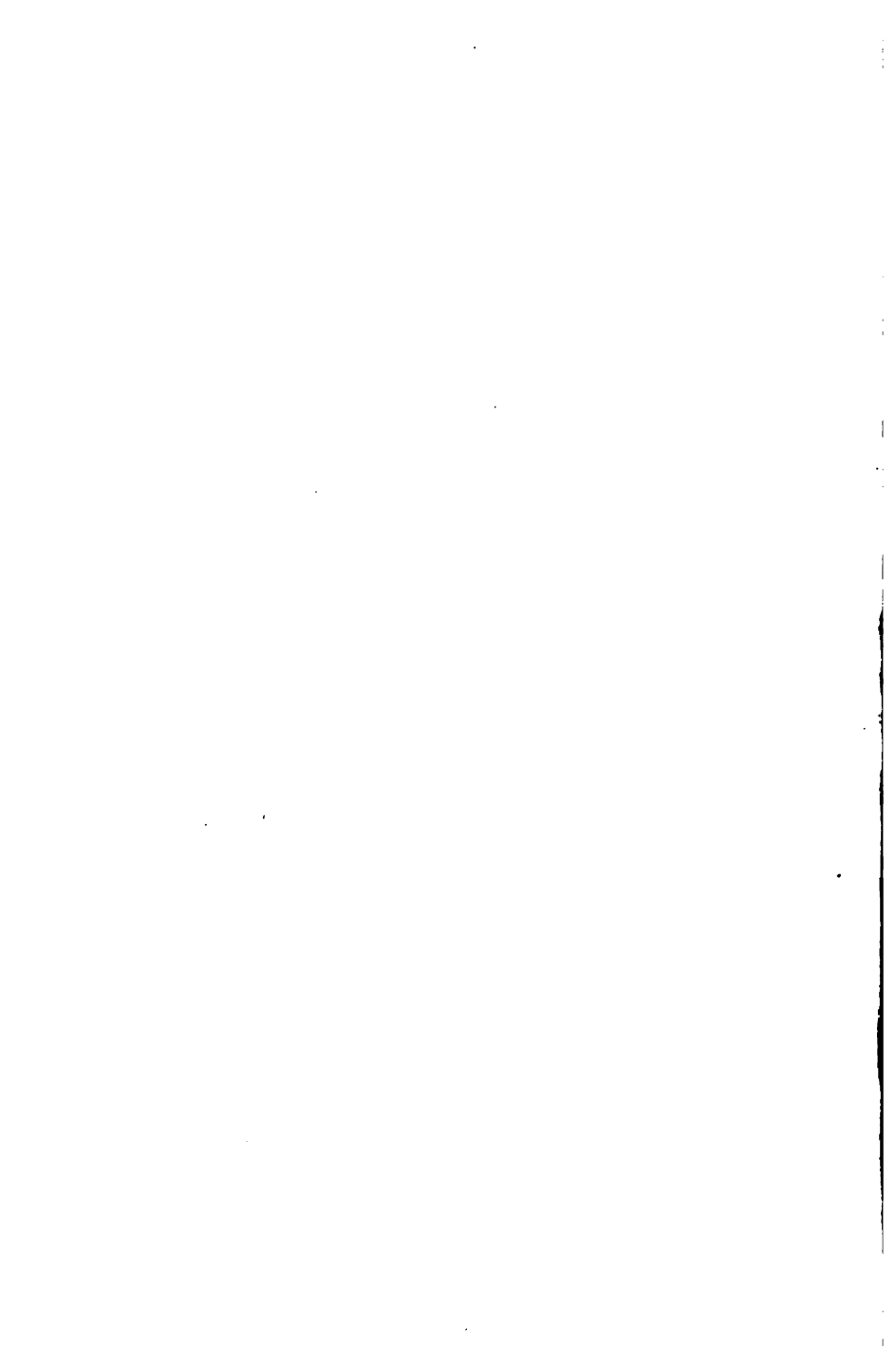
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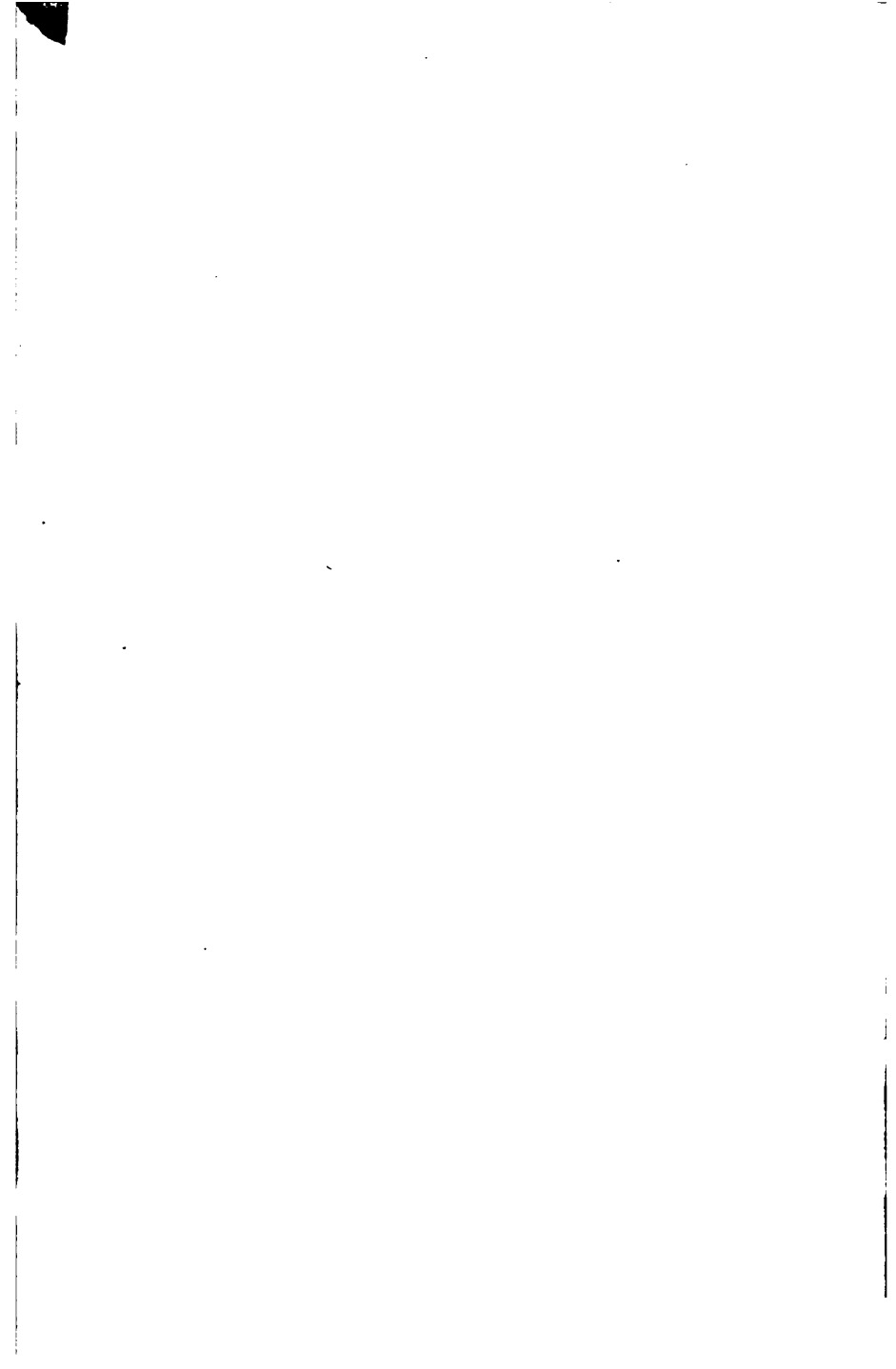


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# HARVARD GRADUATES WHOM I HAVE KNOWN

BY

ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY, D. D., LL. D.

PREACHER TO THE UNIVERSITY, AND PLUMMER PROFESSOR  
OF CHRISTIAN MORALS, EMERITUS



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## PREFACE.

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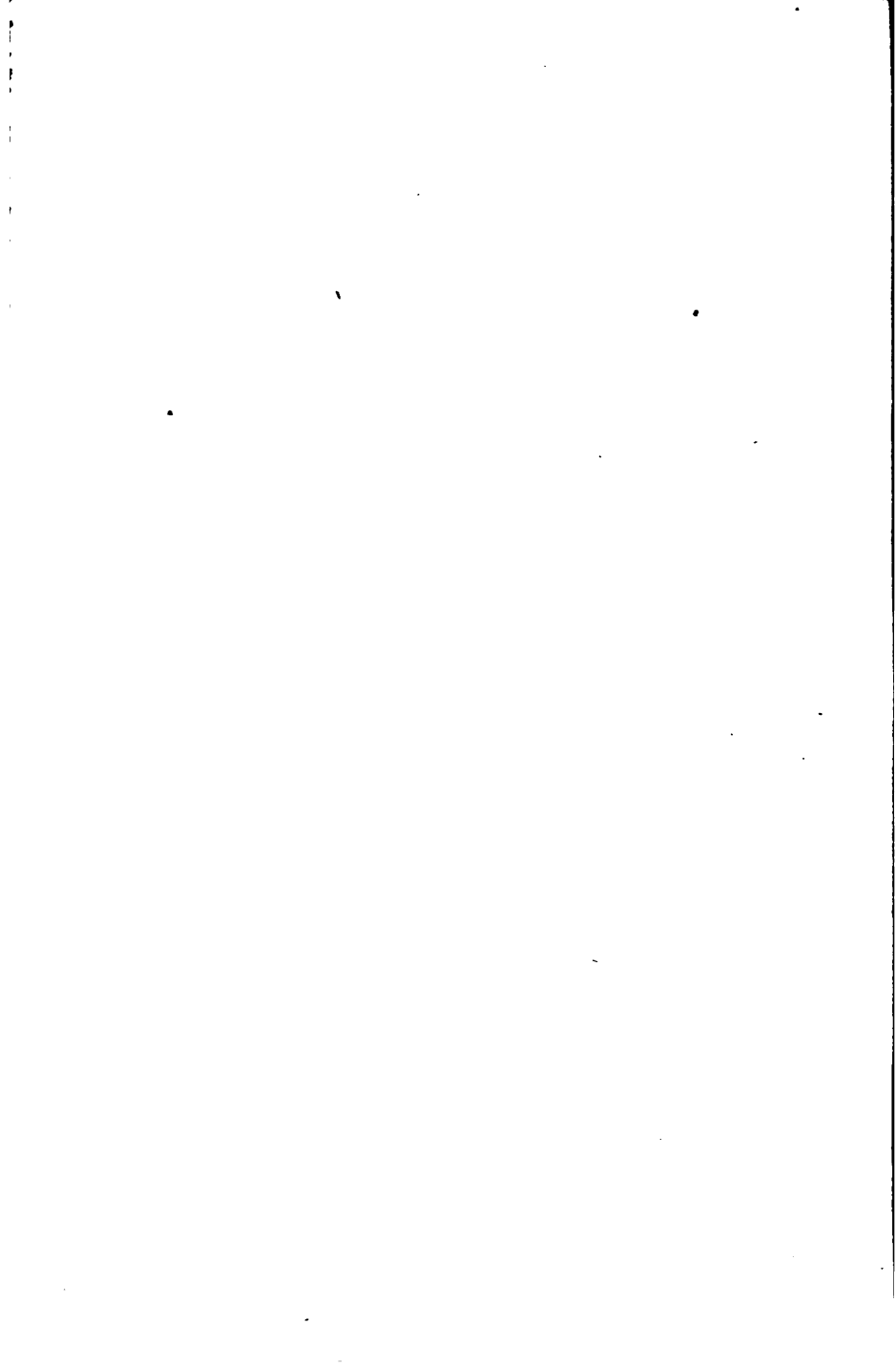
THIS volume is designed as a sequel to my 'Harvard Reminiscences.' The men whom it commemorates were either benefactors of the College, or members of one or more of its boards of government or instruction. I knew them all, most of them with a greater or less degree of intimacy. My object has been, not to give complete biographical sketches, but rather to put on record my own personal knowledge and recollections of men most of whom held and deserved a large place in the public regard; all, in my own reverent and loving memory.

I have added, in an Appendix, brief sketches of the first two Presidents of the College, who, as educated in the mother country, are not included in Mr. Sibley's "Harvard Graduates."

A. P. PEABODY.

May 1, 1890.

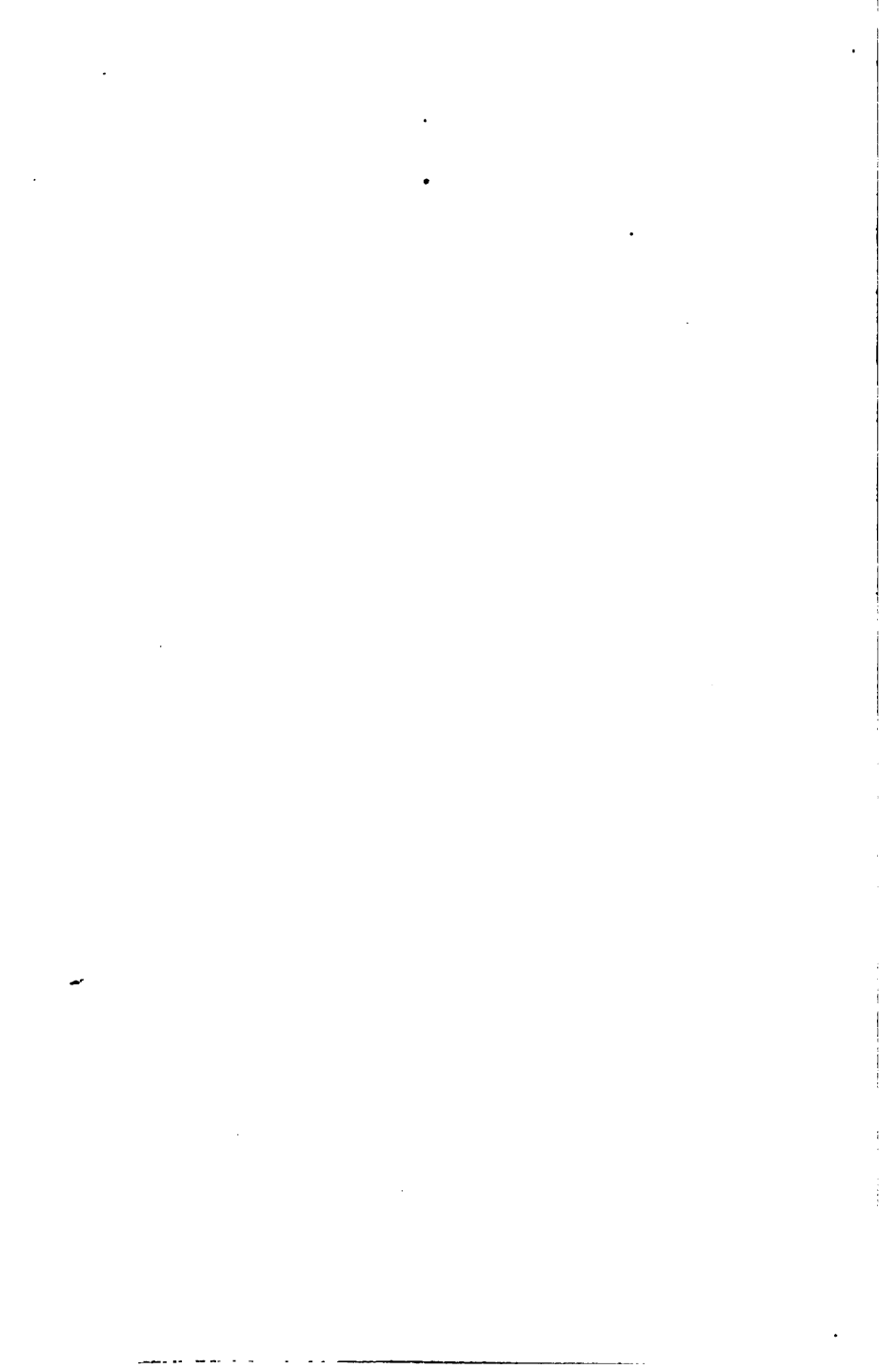
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## HARVARD GRADUATES WHOM I HAVE KNOWN.

---

JOSHUA FISHER.

1766, M. D. 1804.<sup>1</sup>

JOSHUA FISHER was born in Dedham in 1749, of the family to which Fisher Ames owed his maternal ancestry and his Christian name. It was said that his parents educated him for the ministry; yet to those who remember him this statement seems mythical. He had an impediment of speech due to some congenital defect in the palate, which at a later period would doubtless have been supplied by constructive surgery, but which, in default of such relief, compelled him to keep a movable silver plate in his mouth when using the organs of speech. The consequence was that his articula-

<sup>1</sup> This was an honorary degree. The degree of M. D., as designating a regular course of instruction under the auspices of the University, began to be conferred several years after Dr. Fisher had commenced the practice of medicine.

♦

tion, though singularly distinct, was painfully slow, and any modulation of voice would have been impossible. But he was probably destined from his childhood for a professional life, as he graduated at the early age of seventeen. After leaving college, he taught a school in Rowley for two years. He then had a severe attack of pulmonic disease, which left him for a time an invalid. On his restoration to health he studied medicine with Bela Lincoln (M. D. Aberdeen), of Hingham, who is believed to have had in his time no superior in his profession.

Dr. Fisher commenced the practice of medicine in Ipswich, then removed to Salem, then took up his abode in Beverly, which was his place of residence for sixty or more of the eighty-four years of his life, and from which his only absence of any duration formed the one eventful episode in a career else singularly smooth and even. He was ardently patriotic, and during the war of the Revolution, in accordance with the approved moral standard of his day,<sup>1</sup> he entered the service of his country as

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to say how much the depredations upon the commerce of Great Britain contributed toward shortening the war, and overcoming the reluctance of the British ministry to recognize the independence of the revolted colonies. Nearly three thousand British ships were captured by American privateers. While this private warfare is worthy of the



surgeon of a privateer. The vessel, after having captured and sent home a valuable prize, was surrounded in the British Channel by English men-of-war, and was run ashore in the hope that the crew might thus secure their own safety. He was arrested, however, yet by force and adroitness effected his escape, and after various perilous and not unromantic adventures reached the French coast, where he shipped on board of another privateer, and after a successful cruise took passage for Boston.

In 1788, the first cotton factory in this country was built in Beverly, and was regarded as so unique and marvelous an establishment that General Washington, on his presidential tour in the following year, was taken to visit it. Several eminent merchants, resident then in Beverly, afterward in Boston, the Cabots especially, were interested in this enterprise, not so much in the hope of gain as from a desire to naturalize in the new country an industry to which inventions then recent had given a fresh and strong impulse in England. Dr. Fisher was induced to assume the superintendence of this factory, in which he invested a large portion

utmost detestation, as training men for piracy, robbery, and outrage, it undoubtedly possessed the advantage of inflicting more injury on an enemy with less sacrifice of life than any other mode of warfare.

of his property. The experiment was a failure. The corporation was dissolved; and some of the stockholders were equally unsuccessful in an attempt to spin cotton by water-power in a brick building, which remained unoccupied, but of some interest as a monument of an important epoch in our industrial history, till it was burned, in 1828.

Dr. Fisher must have possessed at an early period the characteristics for which he was well known in later life. The first professional record that I can find of him is in the first volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, in which he describes a *post-mortem* examination held in Hamilton. It is remarkable in itself, and in contrast with similar papers of nearly the same date by men of already established eminence. He had but a brief time allowed him, and was obliged to bring his work to a sudden close by the assembling of friends for the funeral of his subject; but there is in the narrative a minute precision of detail, indicating the most close and careful observation and a painstaking accuracy in judgment and statement, and reminding me of his well-balanced, nicely worded, and conscientiously deliberate utterances as I remember them in conversation.

I find no other specific record of Dr. Fisher's professional life till 1804, when he was chosen

Vice-President of the Massachusetts Medical Society, an office which he retained till 1815, when he succeeded the elder Warren as President. In 1823, he resigned the presidency, and at a still earlier period he had withdrawn from the active duties of his profession, though sometimes called in consultation in critical cases.

In medical practice Dr. Fisher in some respects struck out his own path, and in one particular he for many years had few followers, though at the present moment his wisdom would be unquestioned. Venesection was then not only employed remedially,<sup>1</sup> often with fatal results, but resorted to at certain seasons of the year for the prevention of disease by persons in robust health. He seldom or never bled a patient. He placed great reliance on narcotics in all inflammatory diseases. I well remember his telling me that before his time no American physician dared to give unlimited quantities of opium, which, in its crude form, was his favorite remedy, but that he had experimented in its use till he had satisfied himself that, so long as the pain or spasm to be relieved was still unsubdued, successive large doses of

<sup>1</sup> In 1786, the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of George III., then a girl of fifteen, was bled twelve times in fourteen days. Her recovery seemed almost miraculous then; it seems more so now.

opium might be safely administered at brief intervals without any injurious consequences. It seemed to me very strange that so important a discovery should have been made so late; but as he was equally modest and truthful, I could not doubt his testimony. I now find that in an Address before the Massachusetts Medical Society, in 1806, he treats this mode of practice didactically, as if his professional brethren needed to have its feasibility demonstrated. He speaks of "cases of severe spasms, in which physicians have adventured to give a grain every hour;" and in contrast with these he describes a case of tetanus, in which he had given to "a young lady, aged seventeen," seventy-two grains of opium in six doses, with intervals of ten minutes, and who in three days "took nearly eleven drams of excellent opium, and not a grain more than was absolutely necessary." He describes another case, of which he gave me the details, of a cholera patient of sixty-five years, whose "countenance was cadaverous, his nose and hands cold, the blood had become stagnant around his nails, the pulse was hardly perceptible, and every symptom indicated speedy dissolution," to whom he administered sixty grains "as soon as was practicable," which "soon removed every distressing symptom."

In this same Address Dr. Fisher speaks of hav-

ing found stramonium an efficient remedy with certain specified classes of epileptic patients, given daily when the fits were of daily or frequent occurrence, and when less frequent given on the appearance of the wonted premonitory symptoms.

He goes on to speak of the use of hemlock (*Conium maculatum*) as a remedy for jaundice, and says that he has known but three cases in which it had been administered without effecting a cure, and in these there was a complication with other diseases. He describes at some length his cure of President Willard, of Harvard College, who had been his minister and his patient in Beverly. In this case of stubborn jaundice, the President, at Cambridge, had probably been under the charge of Dr. Gamage, whose lavish over-medication gained for him unbounded popularity with the many who used a quantitative standard in estimating a physician's skill, and left traditions transcending easy belief in the succeeding generation. Dr. Willard had been under treatment for six months, with no relief. Dr. Fisher "gave him some pills of the extract of hemlock, desiring him to take one the first night, and to increase the dose by an additional pill every night, till he felt the usual symptoms of a full dose." On the eighth morning convalescence commenced, and progressed without relapse, and there was afterward no recurrence of the disease.

It will be seen that Dr. Fisher, like all his coevals in the profession, believed in specifics, and not without grave reason. In fit hands they certainly wrought great cures, and in such hands were the weapons of a more heroic practice than is often witnessed now. Yet I have no doubt that with the average patient and under the average practitioner the expectant and mildly alterative treatment which now prevails results in a much larger proportion of cures, without producing a class of cases, in my early days by no means small, in which life was made permanently wretched by the means employed to save it; as for instance, when calomel, if it sometimes warded off closely impending dissolution, left what was little better than a living death.

Dr. Fisher, though intrepid in his practice of medicine, was a man of singular tenderness of sensibility. He had as little as possible to do with surgery, shrank from the sight of blood, and was easily moved to tears in the presence of suffering. In his retirement he maintained the kindest relations with those who succeeded him in his field of labor, especially with Dr. Abner Howe, who for many years held a foremost place among the physicians of Essex County, and possessed the strong confidence and affection of those whom Dr. Fisher had previously had in charge.

Like most of the best men in Essex County,

Dr. Fisher was an ardent Federalist. He took an active part in politics, and was at one time a member of the State Senate. He was an intimate friend, no less than a political ally, of George Cabot. He was for several years President of the Beverly Bank. He was the founder and the President of the Beverly Charitable Society, which, incorporated in 1807 and possessed of considerable funds, after his death, and in gratitude for his long services and for a liberal bequest, obtained leave of the Legislature to prefix his name to its corporate title. He was a generous contributor to all local and public charities, and by gifts in his lifetime and by his will rendered important aid in the support of worship in his native parish, — the west parish of Dedham. To the First Church in Beverly he bequeathed his dwelling-house, which for many years after his decease was occupied as a parsonage, but has since been sold, and the proceeds funded.

My earliest recollection of Dr. Fisher is of an old man, rarely seen except at church. The only instance in which I ever knew him to be present at any public meeting, except on Sunday, was when he made his appearance at a parish meeting for the settlement of a new minister; and his object then was to impress upon the voters of the parish the duty of paying a generous salary. He lived hos-

pitably and handsomely, and while he visited only a few old friends, and them but rarely, he had always a cordial welcome for visitors. Though a native of Beverly, I was seldom at home after my fourteenth year, and had in my boyhood no other acquaintance with Dr. Fisher than an occasional word of kindness and encouragement; but during the last two or three years of his life, when I was in Beverly, I used occasionally to spend an evening with him. I always found him interested in the fresh thought, literature, and science of the time, and he impressed me as preëminently yet unostentatiously wise. His mental powers, even his power of acquisition, remained unimpaired close under the shadow of death.

In character, Dr. Fisher was a man of so lofty a type that it was impossible to imagine of him anything that was less than pure, upright, honorable, and kind. No man in any community can ever have been regarded with more universal and profound reverence. He was possessed of firm religious faith, and was accustomed to speak of death, as it drew near, as but "an event in life," to be awaited with unwavering trust and hope.

Dr. Fisher's special claim to commemoration in this volume is his endowment of the Fisher Professorship of Natural History. He had always been a student and a careful observer in this depart-



ment. Dr. Walter Channing wrote concerning him : " Such a mind was admirably fitted for the study of nature, and few in this country have felt and acknowledged a deeper interest in natural history than Dr. Fisher. His strong powers of observing, comparing, and remembering fitted him for this branch of science, and he devoted himself to it whenever and wherever opportunity served. He was a genuine lover of nature. He felt its beauty in its truth, and derived perpetual pleasure from the perception of it."

At the time of Dr. Fisher's death, in 1833, for lack of funds there had been in Harvard College no professor of natural history for eleven years. He bequeathed for the establishment of such a professorship twenty thousand dollars, — fully equivalent, when the decrease both in the percentage of income and in the purchasing power of money is taken into account, to an endowment of three times that amount at the present moment. His benefaction secured for the Fisher Professorship the services for nearly half a century of Asa Gray, than whose name the science of our time has none more illustrious on its records, and it is now filled by George Lincoln Goodale, for many years Dr. Gray's coadjutor, and the man whom, in preference to all others, he would have chosen as his successor.

## NATHAN DANE.

1778, LL. D. 1816.

NATHAN DANE was born in 1752, at Ipswich, in a precinct or parish then called "The Hamlet," but afterward incorporated as a separate town, with the name of Hamilton. His father was a prosperous farmer; but, with a family of twelve children, he was unable to afford peculiar educational advantages to any one of them, or even to dispense with the services of such of them as remained dependent on him. His son Nathan, therefore, though with studious tastes and habits, worked on his native farm till he was of age, and thus no doubt secured the strength of body which lasted without decline through a long lifetime of close application and arduous mental labor. He entered college in 1774, having prepared himself for examination in eight months, with little or no aid from teachers. He had already pursued a somewhat advanced mathematical course, which was oftener the case in earlier time than now with the sons of New England farmers.<sup>1</sup> He graduated with a

<sup>1</sup> Before the grading of schools or the prescribing of an

record of superior scholarship. On leaving college he took up his residence in Beverly, of which he remained a citizen till his death, in 1835. He at first supported himself by teaching, at the same time pursuing his legal studies with Mr. Wetmore, of Salem. In 1782 he commenced the practice of law in Beverly.

Mr. Dane seems to have started in his professional life with a reputation already formed. Beverly was at that time a place of great relative importance, as the home of some of the largest merchants and most influential men in the State, and it was of no little significance as to the hold which this young man had gained on the public confidence that he was first elected to the Legislature on the very year in which he opened his office. He was chosen Representative for four successive years, and would probably have continued thus to serve the town and State still longer, had he not been elected, in 1785, a delegate of Massachusetts to the Federal Congress, of which he was a member till it was dissolved by the adoption of the Constitution.

In Congress, Mr. Dane was appointed on almost unvarying course of study was thought of, and when the best scholars in college taught winter schools all over the State, young men used to attend school often till they were married, and were apt to confine their study to mathematics.

every committee of importance, and was always a resident and working member, which could be said of few of his associates ; for not unfrequently only a minority were present for several consecutive sessions, and, as each State voted as a unit, necessary business was sometimes delayed for lack of representation by a quorum of the States. Mr. Dane drafted and reported the Ordinance for the Government of the Territory northwest of the Ohio, which was adopted without amendment, and which was probably the most important act of legislation in the world's history, inasmuch as it determined, not only the civil and social condition of the territory then to be settled, but the destiny of our entire country for generations yet unborn. It enacted the perpetual exclusion of slavery from several of the most populous and prosperous States of the Union, which else would, beyond a doubt, have become permanently subject and tributary to the slave power. I do not believe that the origination of this anti-slavery clause ever came into question during Mr. Dane's lifetime, and I can find no evidence that he ever claimed or disclaimed its inception as his own unsuggested idea. If the suggestion came to him from another mind, it was so congenial to his own that he would hardly have recognized its alien parentage. But, after careful investigation, I have become convinced that this

clause was first drafted by Manasseh Cutler,<sup>1</sup> the agent of a Massachusetts company for the purchase of a large tract of territory on the Ohio River. He was Mr. Dane's senior, his intimate friend, and the pastor of his native parish. It was always believed in Dr. Cutler's family, and there remains manuscript evidence under his own hand, that he put into writing, though not in legal form, the proviso against slavery. This seems the more probable, as Mr. Dane was indifferent to the settlement of the Ohio region at that time, on the ground that Massachusetts possessed in its District of Maine an immense territory craving immigrants.

There is another article in this Ordinance, of less moment, indeed, yet of no small importance, which must have been due solely to Mr. Dane's wisdom and foresight; namely, the provision that none of the legislatures in the territory embraced in the Ordinance should ever enact any law im-

<sup>1</sup> A Life of Manasseh Cutler is among the *desideranda* of our biographical literature. In addition to his services in the settlement of the North West Territory, in which he must ever hold the foremost place, he was undoubtedly the most variously and in some respects the most profoundly learned man of his time. Till of late his papers have been inaccessible. His *Journal* has been recently published in two large volumes, which will have very few readers, but which, with what is else known of him, furnish materials for a biography equally attractive and valuable.

pairing the obligation of contracts. When the Ordinance was passed in New York, the Convention for framing the Constitution was sitting in Philadelphia, and this clause of the Ordinance, copied in express terms, was incorporated in the Constitution, and has been enforced by the highest judicial authority. It was the means of restoring the integrity of one of our great literary institutions. I refer to the famous Dartmouth College case. The Legislature of New Hampshire virtually annulled, under the pretense of amending, its charter, and abolished the then existing courts, in order to establish a new Supreme Court that could be relied on to confirm its action; but the decision of that court was set aside by the Supreme Court of the United States, on the ground that the charter was a contract, and, because it contained no provision for its own amendment, was rendered inviolable by the Constitution.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is no small reason for regret that the Constitution of the United States had not made the same inhibiting provision as to the legislation of Congress. In that case we should have been spared repeated instances of financial legislation, equally wasteful and demoralizing. The "Legal Tender Act" was rightly pronounced by the Supreme Court not unconstitutional; but when the time shall come for a calm consideration of the history of the great Rebellion, that Act will be regarded as at once a financial blunder and an outrageous public wrong. All measures for diminishing

After his retirement from Congress, Mr. Dane was often in the service of his own State, for several years in the Senate, and at four different times on commissions for the revision and publication of the laws and charters of the Commonwealth. In 1805, in connection with Samuel Sewall (H. U. 1776), afterward Chief Justice, he reported to the Legislature a series of enactments in some essential particulars remodeling the criminal law of the State; abolishing the "punishments of whipping, branding, cropping, standing in the pillory, and setting (*sic*) upon the gallows," and while retaining the death penalty, so "altering the definitions" of robbery, burglary, and arson as "to lessen the instances of crimes liable to capital punishment." This committee also put the brand of infamy on dueling by subjecting to imprisonment and disqualifying for "any office or place of honor, profit, or trust" in the Commonwealth, the person who takes part in a duel, "though no homicide shall ensue thereon," the person who gives a challenge the quantity or debasing the quality of the precious metals employed in coinage come under the same category, as impairing the obligation of pecuniary contracts. We learned from Cicero that *novæ tabulæ* were to be resisted as an invasion of private right by authority of the State, it may be, without being sufficiently mindful that justice between man and man is governed by the same canons that determined it two thousand years ago.

lenge, and "every second, agent, or abettor in such duel or challenge," and punishing by imprisonment and by civil incapacity for five years the person who accepts a challenge, "though no duel shall thereupon ensue." This legislation represents a noteworthy stage of progress, and reflects enduring honor on the men who thus led the way in law-reform.

The last official service of Mr. Dane was as one of the Electoral College of 1812. His fellow-townsmen honored themselves by choosing him to the Constitutional Convention of 1820, with the clear understanding on both sides that he could not attend the sessions, but, as I well remember, with the universal feeling that the prestige of his name could not be dispensed with, even if his presence were withholden.

In 1814, Mr. Dane, always a strong Federalist, was a member of the Hartford Convention, which, I suppose, now that the old party feuds have subsided, must be regarded as an assembly of patriotic citizens, who thought the country in serious peril from an administration which they distrusted, and whose desire was, not to destroy, but to save the Union.

Mr. Dane was in the successful practice of his profession for thirty years or more, and retired from its active duties only on account of incurable



and increasing deafness. Though no man could conduct litigation more skillfully, he always discouraged it, and kept cases out of court whenever he could ; and he bore no small part in establishing that habit in the Essex South bar, the leading members of which, for years after his withdrawal, derived a very large portion of their income from cases never brought to trial. Mr. Dane probably performed his share of the business of defending criminals, and there remains in authentic tradition one instance in which he availed himself of expert testimony of a very peculiar kind. He was appointed to defend a man indicted for setting fire to a dwelling-house in the night-time, then a capital offense. The evidence was conclusive, and the fire took place at what was reputed to be a late hour on a summer night. Mr. Dane procured the aid of his friend and former pastor, President Willard of Harvard College, well known as a scientific mathematician,<sup>1</sup> to determine the moment when the first rays of the sun in morning twilight would have been above the horizon on the night of the fire ; and it appeared that this moment was a few minutes earlier than the latest period when the

<sup>1</sup>In the first volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* there are no less than six mathematical articles by President Willard, almost all of them astronomical calculations.

crime could have been committed. Mr. Dane convinced the jury that night was closed at daybreak, and thus secured the acquittal of his client.<sup>1</sup>

So long as Dr. Dane could maintain his intercourse with society, he bore an active part in every enterprise for the public welfare. He was a member and supporter of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, except the Rechabites of scriptural fame the oldest temperance society in the world, and one of the most efficient; he was for several years its president, and was one of the chief contributors to its funds. At the time of the embargo,

<sup>1</sup> This was, probably, at a very early period in his professional career; for in 1784, perhaps in consequence of this very acquittal, a law was enacted, providing that a person indicted for an aggravated crime might be convicted of and punished for a part of the offense. Thus a person indicted for murder might be found guilty of manslaughter, or this man, indicted as a nocturnal incendiary, might have been convicted of setting fire to a house in the daytime. By the English common law the man who cannot be convicted of the crime for which he is indicted is acquitted. In this respect the common-law practice still prevails in some of the United States. Thus in Mississippi an astute lawyer, still living, was influential in procuring an indictment for murder in the case of a man whom he was going to defend, and thus obtained his acquittal, while, had he been indicted for manslaughter, he would inevitably have been found guilty.

he established and largely subsidized a society for furnishing employment to the many men and families that had depended on the shipping interest for their subsistence.

Dr. Dane, always a hard student, for the last twenty years or more of his life spent never less than twelve, often fourteen, hours a day in his library. In 1782 he began to collect materials for his two great life-works, one of which he published, and the other remains in manuscript. The first of these is "A General Abridgment and Digest of American Law," issued in nine octavo volumes in 1823, with a supplementary volume in 1830,—a work probably embodying the fruits of a larger amount of skilled intellectual labor than any other American publication. It was complete, but of course long since ceased to be so; and while it contained all that its title indicated, it is said to have needed a "digest" of itself for current use. The work still unprinted is "A Moral and Political Survey of America." It would be, if printed, at least as voluminous as the Digest. It would be easier to say what it excludes than to define its contents. It is a series of essays on a vast diversity of subjects more or less intimately connected with America at large, the greater part of the subjects having a special bearing on the political and moral well-being of our own country. Many por-

tions of it, if published when written, would have been of essential value in warning and guidance for rulers and people; but the occasions passed without the voice. Much of it indicates a keen discernment in the prognosis of a future which had become history long before those pages came under any other eye than his own.

Dr. Dane's personal character was not only pure and blameless, but on so high a plane as to demand a kind of veneration, which, whether for lack of objects or by reason of diminished power of appreciation, has now become almost obsolete. To him, to Dr. Fisher, and to their and my friend and pastor, Dr. Abbot, every boy in town took off his hat and did lowliest reverence; and we all classed these, our fellow-townsmen, with those greatly good men whose lives then bore as large a part in juvenile literature as is now borne by inane and worse than inane fiction. Dr. Dane was a sincerely religious man, conservatively liberal in belief, in observance almost Puritanical. Living hard by the church, he was never absent from public worship, though for many years he heard not a word. He was a rigid Sabbath-keeper. In the last conversation that I had with him, he told me that he ascribed the preservation of his working power to so late a period to his having always rested on Sunday from law and American history. But when I inquired into

his way of passing holy time, I came to the conclusion that for him "Sunday shone no Sabbath-day." He said that he had spent the full number of hours in his library on Sunday, and that his occupation had been the critical study of the Scriptures in Hebrew<sup>1</sup> and in Greek, and the reading of sundry of the Christian Fathers in their original tongues. He was not a man of sentiment, and I doubt whether he would have enjoyed what is called devotional literature, while this hard Sunday work ministered to his faith, brought him into closer communion with its Author and Finisher, and sent him back to the arid wastes of law, refreshed and gladdened.

Dr. Dane was severely simple in his personal habits. For many years he was never seen on the street except once a day, when he walked slowly to the post office, nearly half a mile from his house. Of course he must have shunned all approach to luxurious living, — else such strenuous industry would have been impossible. After the dedication of Dane Hall, at which he was present, he dined with President Quincy, who told me that when the then usual dessert of dried fruit was put upon the table, and Dr. Dane was asked to take some, he replied, "I will depart so far from my invariable

<sup>1</sup> In his time in college, Hebrew held a prominent place among the required studies.

rule as to take three almonds." Yet, however little of a Sybarite himself, he lived elegantly, hospitably, and generously. He had no children; but there were none of his numerous kindred in need of help that failed to receive it from him, and there were always those among them whose home was his house. His nephew, Hon. Joseph Dane (H. U. 1799), at one time a member of Congress from Maine, was educated by him as an adopted son, and several other of his relatives were educated or established in business at his charge. His excellent wife, with whom he lived for fifty-five years, was his helper and almoner in charities of a large amount and scope, which were undiminished so long as she survived him.

I was often at his house in my early youth, and not infrequently at parties given by a niece who was then a member of his family; but on account of his deafness he seldom saw persons in his own house, and was never seen in any other house. I therefore had then no opportunity of conversing with him. In later years, when in Beverly, I used to call especially on him, making him hear only with the utmost difficulty, but hearing from him much that was of great interest and value, particularly as to the experiences of his early and public life. I remember his naming to me a singular yet very well devised test by which he sought to

determine whether his mental faculties were suffering decline. He said that he always read the leading articles in a daily paper (probably the "Advertiser"), and that he was careful to note whether he took in the news of the day with as prompt comprehension and as ready an interest as had been his wont. He said that he had as yet detected no change; and there was no token of any failure as to mental vigor or acumen, or the capacity and love for continuous labor, till three months before his death. He then had an attack of paralysis, sudden and unwarned. His mind sustained no shock. He retained his interest in accustomed subjects of thought, while he looked forward to the approaching change with entire serenity and assured trust. But a few hours before his death he gave directions for his funeral, and then, with the quiet calmness which had characterized his whole life, he took an affectionate leave of the friends at his bedside.

Dr. Dane has his memory permanently associated with the University in the professorship which he founded, and in the Hall which still bears his name, though the Law School has migrated to larger quarters. His gifts, made in his lifetime, amounted in the whole to twenty thousand dollars, — a large sum for the time, and in proportion to his fortune probably the largest amount ever given

to the University by a still living benefactor. In founding the professorship he expressed the wish that Judge Story might be the first incumbent. Judge Story accepted the appointment, and was succeeded by Theophilus Parsons, who, like his predecessor, added to his legal knowledge an inexhaustible fund of anecdote, wit, and humor, and an intimate conversance with literature, both old and new. There is no need of saying how fully Professor Langdell maintains his title to the third place in this series of eminent jurists.



## JOHN PIERCE.

1793, D. D. 1822.

I NOW commemorate a third benefactor of the college, who bestowed not money, indeed, but the loyal service, devotion, and love of a lifetime, and who of all its friends that I have ever known was the stanchest and firmest. To him its site was the dearest and most sacred spot on the earth; its prosperity and honor were held second only to the well-being of the Church of Christ, of which he was a faithful minister. In his boyhood he used to walk to Cambridge, to feast his eyes with the sight of the college. He attended sixty-three out of sixty-four successive Commencements, the record broken only by his mother's funeral on Commencement Day, while he was an undergraduate, — an occasion which in his memory evidently had its sadness intensified by the time when it occurred. He was a tutor in his early manhood, an overseer *ex officio* for fifty-two years, Secretary of the Board for thirty-three years, and probably never absent from a meeting till his last illness. His genial presence carried with it whole stacks of sunbeams,

and there never was a college occasion of any kind that was not graced and blessed by its full radiance. What he did not know about the University no man knew ; what there was in it that merited praise had no so hearty eulogist ; its shortcomings no man was so ready to condone, so earnest to retrieve. If he desired length of days, it was that he might live to be its oldest graduate ; and if there were among the added stars in the successive triennial catalogues any as to which a ray of comfort blended with the unfeigned sorrow of his vividly sympathetic nature, it was those in classes earlier than his own. His social relations among liberal givers were large and intimate, and it is impossible to say of how many benefactions to the college he may have been purposely or unconsciously the inspirer.

John Pierce was born in Dorchester, in 1773, the eldest of ten children of a poor man of superior intelligence and excellence, who lived to the age of ninety-one, and of a mother of kindred character in mind and heart, of whom he was wont to speak in his old age with still fresh remembrance of what she was to him in his boyhood. He graduated second scholar in his class.<sup>1</sup> After leaving

<sup>1</sup> It may not be uninteresting, to know, as illustrating both the simplicity of the time and the coöperative labor of near kindred, then often needed and employed to sustain a son or

college he was a teacher for two years in the Leicester Academy, then studied theology under the direction of his pastor, Rev. T. M. Harris, and in 1797 was ordained minister of the then only church in Brookline, an office which he retained till his death in 1849, though with the aid of an associate pastor for the last two years.

When he was settled, Brookline was a farming town of about six hundred inhabitants, hardly near enough to be accounted a suburb of Boston ; when he died, its population had been more than quadrupled, and it had become virtually a rich and fashionable outlying district of the great city. During all these years Dr. Pierce was the most conspicuous personage in the town, the most widely known of its residents, and in every respect in which he chose to be so its most influential citizen.

As a preacher, he was sound, scriptural, evangelical, pure in style, in a certain sense energetic, though unimpassioned, in delivery. His sermons must have been superior to the average of good preaching in the early days of his ministry ; but

brother in college, that Pierce's sister, a little younger than himself, used to ride on horseback to Cambridge every week, fasten her horse at some college post or fence, bring her brother's clothes, which she herself had washed, ironed, and mended, and take home such of his apparel as needed washing or repairs.

an over-rigid conservatism precluded his adaptation to progressive thought, which, indeed, was not outside of his cognizance and never failed of his kind appreciation in others, yet in his own mind lacked a hospitable reception. But in preaching the minister's personality bears a large part, and it was impossible that he should fail to interest either those who knew him well or those who saw him but once or seldom. There was in his sermons little of what is commonly called unction; yet his hearers could not but be impressed by the certainty that they were listening to a man of unquestioning faith, of profound piety, and of a heart large enough to take in the whole world.

In personal presence he was unique. Strangely enough for so robust a man, his hair became white when he was but little more than thirty years of age, and while, till the last year of his life, his aspect denoted the perfection of manly strength and vigor, he wore such "a crown of glory" in the full-flowing locks of his "hoary head" as might have betokened a fabulous length of years. He was tall and large, with a massive head and face, yet with features finely formed, and expressive equally of unclouded cheerfulness and of overflowing benignity. His smile was luminous; his laugh, contagious; his hand-grasp, a heart-grasp.

Among his remarkable gifts were his love and

power of sacred song. He had in him the making of a world-famous singer. His voice was at once strong and sweet, — incapable of being other than a leading voice, — with such a leading as none who could would not be glad to follow. At church and in all the churches in which he preached, he stood, while till of late years the congregation sat, during the singing, and sang “with the spirit and with the understanding also,” with might and main, beating time with his heavy hand. He knew the best tunes of every choir in his range of pulpit exchanges, and there were certain hymns associated with special tunes which he always brought into use in particular churches. Thus in the Beverly church, where he preached as often as once a year, he always gave out the hymn commencing, —

“Upward I lift mine eyes,”

for which he expected the grand old tune of Triumph; and that tune, with his energetic aid in swelling the chorus, was the musical pride and glory of the year.

For fifty-four successive years Dr. Pierce led the psalm at the Commencement dinner to the tune of St. Martin's, which, though he has had two able and skilled successors, has to the older graduates never sounded like itself since he died. Once, perhaps oftener, he performed the same service

at another college. I was present with him at a Bowdoin Commencement. Our psalm had been adopted. A painfully diffident minister, then settled at Brunswick, was called upon, unexpectedly I suppose, to "set the tune." In his confusion he started Old Hundred, which is of the wrong metre. Dr. Pierce was equal to the occasion. Before the leader's trembling voice had reached the middle of the first line, the doctor interposed, saying, "Old Hundred is a long-metre tune; you want St. Martin's," and he recommenced the verse to the right tune, and under his powerful leading the psalm was probably sung to more effect than ever before or since.

There were various occasions other than academic on which Dr. Pierce's musical ability was found availing. He always attended the Thursday Lecture at the First Church in Boston, at which no arrangement was made for singing, and his was sometimes the only voice that could be heard beyond its own near neighborhood. In social meetings of every sort where a hymn or a doxology could be appropriate, he never suffered the omission. Then there were certain persons to or with whom he gave to a specific hymn-singing the sanctity of a religious rite. Thus for many years he paid at Newburyport an annual visit to Paul Couch, — a bedridden invalid, who, having pre-

pared himself for the ministry of the gospel, exercised it only from the bed or chamber of chronic infirmity, and so exercised it that his room became a Mecca for saintly pilgrimage, a centre of holy influence, a bureau of charity. At this yearly visit Dr. Pierce and Mr. Couch always sang together, to a strange old fuguing tune, which in the music-books of a half century ago bears the title of "The Thirty-fourth Psalm," the hymn commencing, —

"Through all the changing scenes of life,  
In trouble and in joy."

They sang this hymn for the last time in the thirty-eighth year of Mr. Couch's invalid condition, and parted with the assurance, which on one side may have had some part in securing its own realization, that the same Divine hand that cured in Jerusalem the man who "had an infirmity thirty and eight years" would after the same term of years perform a like cure in welcoming this long-suffering disciple to the painless home on high.

Dr. Pierce maintained his almost uninterrupted flow of exuberant health and elastic activity by temperance and exercise, not under any prescribed system, but in his own best way. He fed largely, but simply. Always rigidly temperate, for many of the later years of his life he abstained from wine,

without denouncing those who did not think this their duty. He used to rise at what seemed an inordinately early hour; in the summer working in his garden for two or three hours before breakfast, in the winter sawing and splitting all the fuel for several wood-fires. When he went to Boston he always walked both ways, unless in some stress of weather, as he did on his Sunday exchanges, when the distance did not exceed six or seven miles. Once, when he exchanged pulpits with me at Portsmouth, he arrived on a warm July afternoon, early enough to walk to Kittery Point to inspect an ancient cemetery; on Sunday, beside preaching twice, he visited all the cemeteries in Portsmouth; and on Monday morning took the stage-coach to Stratham, to call on Paine Wingate, then the oldest Harvard graduate, intending thence to walk to Exeter, where he would take the train for Boston. He could not have been much less than seventy years of age when he took a journey — his first, I believe — to western New York. His friend and summer parishioner, the late John E. Thayer, made, in advance, arrangements for his enjoying for a day or two the hospitality of his father-in-law, Mr. Granger, of Canandaigua. The doctor arrived in the evening, and, in accordance with his home-habit, readily consented to be shown early to his room. His host gave special orders to his



servants to keep the house perfectly quiet in the morning, that his venerable guest might not be disturbed, and breakfast was to be served at a later than the usual time. The next morning Mr. Granger was roused from sleep by his man-servant, who told him that the house had been feloniously entered in the night. He threw on some clothes, and hastened to the plate-safe, which he found undisturbed, and there was nowhere the slightest trace of depredation. Yet the trusty servant had himself fastened the door carefully, and on coming down in the morning had found it wide open. The mystery of the open door remained unsolved, till Dr. Pierce stepped upon its threshold, fresh and bright after a long walk, and told Mr. Granger the precise number of houses between his house and the lake.

This leads me to speak of Dr. Pierce's habit of counting everything and timing everything. He always knew on Sunday how many people were at church. He could tell how many houses there were on every street and road in Brookline, and how many dwellers there were in every house. He kept note of the length of every sermon, address, Commencement part, or other public performance that he heard. He was easily moved to tears, and did not hide them; but while they were raining down his cheeks at the moving close of an eloquent dis-

course, he would take out his great silver watch, and say in broken accents to the person sitting nearest to him, "Just fifty minutes," or "Ten minutes over the hour."

Dr. Pierce's memory was amazing. Few old men have forgotten as many things as he remembered to the last. It is related of Hortensius, Cicero's rival, that he once, on a wager, attended for a whole day an auction sale of miscellaneous articles, and rehearsed at the close, in their order, the articles sold, the prices paid, and the names of the purchasers. I think that Dr. Pierce would have attended such a sale for six successive days, and have made an accurate report of every transaction. He remembered things of importance, — everything that he had ever read or heard, and where ; and as for the Bible, the chapters of names were probably the only parts which he could not have repeated word for word. He knew the ancestry, age, and birthdays of all his friends ; the professional history, with its dates and details, of every clergyman of any denomination whatsoever, within the large range of his acquaintance ; and the life-record of every Harvard graduate, from his own time downward, who was not too insignificant to have a history. There could hardly be a list of names which would not recall for him some personal memory. So long as the formal publication

of intentions of marriage was required in Massachusetts, the city clerk of Boston used to attend the Thursday Lecture, take his stand in the gallery, and read his weekly list as soon as the bell ceased tolling. The other ministers remained in the vestry till the reading was over ; but Dr. Pierce always stood by the clerk, and undoubtedly always found in the list some names which were not without suggestive associations.

On the westward journey of which I have spoken, it was my great happiness to be Dr. Pierce's fellow-traveler as far as Albany. A few miles out of Boston he caught sight of an old lady sitting near us, seized her hand, greeted her with his usual cordiality, and said, "I have not seen you since your husband's funeral," of which he went on to speak as an occasion of unprecedented interest, she joining him in an animated conversation, and supplying numerous details, with an alacrity not unusual in often-married women. He then turned to me, and said, "This woman is the widow of three ministers. Her last husband was the celebrated Dr. Emmons, of Franklin." Then, addressing her and me together, he gave the names of her two previous husbands, the places and dates of their settlement, and the preachers and texts of their ordination sermons. He then asked her if the lady sitting at her side was her daughter. She an-

swered in the affirmative. "Mrs. Pickett?" "Yes, sir." He at once gave her a résumé of her husband's biography, comprising all the leading dates and incidents of his life as a minister.

Dr. Pierce was settled on a very small salary, which was, of course, increased as the town grew in population and wealth, and was supplemented by such free-will offerings as used to betoken the attachment of loyal parishioners. At an early period in his ministry, he began each year with a year's salary in hand and a full year's supply of firewood. He was thrifty because his tastes and habits were simple and inexpensive; but he lived generously, and neither his family, his guests, nor the poor ever recognized his sparing hand. His heart was so little set on money that at one time, when almost the entire savings of many years were swept away by an unfortunate investment that had been made for him, he showed no disquiet; and his family learned his loss only incidentally, and a considerable time after it had taken place.

Few men have ever had a happier life than Dr. Pierce. With a wife in every sense a helpmate, and children who were all that a father could have craved, his sorrows were few, and he had for them the Christian alchemy which transmutes griefs into blessings. He loved everybody, and everybody loved him. Venerable in aspect in advance of his

years, he was received with reverence wherever he went, and, while he sought no distinction, had the foremost place conceded to him as of right, no less spontaneously in the outside world than among those of his own flock who had had so large an experience of his ready sympathy and warm affection. He said, when close under the shadow of death, that he "knew not how his life could have been better or pleasanter than a kind Providence had ordered it." After the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination, which was a season of commemorative services and festivities of peculiar interest, Rev. Frederic N. Knapp, of blessed memory, accepted an invitation to become his colleague, and was received at once by his senior less as a professional helper than as an adopted son; and as such he ministered to him in his closing days, while the chief portion of the funeral service of course devolved on him.

Dr. Pierce's entire ministry lasted fifty-two years, and for the whole of that time, and probably still earlier, he kept a copious journal, and was undoubtedly the most voluminous diarist of his time, perhaps of all time. He left of his "Memoirs and Memorabilia" eighteen quarto manuscript volumes of six hundred pages each. These he bequeathed to the Massachusetts Historical Society, their contents to be given to the public only at such times

that there should be no person living who could be annoyed by facts thus made history.

Till March, 1849, Dr. Pierce had shown no token even of the usual infirmities of lengthened years. He then had a severe attack of illness, from which, though he obtained temporary relief, he never recovered. The last weeks of his life were serenely happy. They seemed like a perpetual ovation; for his study, which was his only sick-room, was thronged with visitors from far and near, and he was overwhelmed with kind attentions, every hour bringing him fruit, flowers, delicacies, loving messages. Every Saturday evening the young people of his church, who constituted its volunteer choir, came to him, and sang the hymns that he most loved to hear. A new organ had been placed in the new church built by his parish during the previous year, and the Saturday before his death was the appointed time for giving it its first trial. No one took so vivid an interest as he in this occasion. He could neither walk nor ride. Some young friends, therefore, carried him in his chair to the church, where he read appropriate passages of Scripture, and then asked for the singing of Old Hundred, in which he joined with his wonted animation and fervor. The young men bore him back to his study, which he never left again. He remained in full possession of his

mental powers and in unbroken tranquillity till the following Thursday evening, when Rev. Mr. Shailer, the Baptist minister of the town, who had been assiduous in all offices of love during the doctor's illness, being about to offer prayer, asked him what he should pray for, and he replied, "For perfect submission to the Divine will." The prayer was offered, and he fell asleep, to wake in heaven. He ceased to breathe the next morning.

## JOHN PICKERING.

1796, LL. D. 1838.

IN 1624 the first John Pickering bought in Salem a farm, which is now a populous quarter of the city, and built a house still standing, enlarged and modernized, having been occupied by none but his descendants, and now the home of John Pickering, the grandson of the subject of this sketch. The John Pickering of whom I am writing was the eldest child of Timothy Pickering (H. U. 1763), and was born in Salem in 1777, while his father was serving as colonel of a Massachusetts regiment in a winter campaign in New Jersey.

The Massachusetts Pickerings are among those New England families that are cited in illustration of the law of heredity. It is believed that no stain has ever rested on the reputation of any of the race. Yet those who are familiar with the record of Timothy Pickering may not recognize in his posterity the type that he bore. His was a hard life, and one that demanded rugged strength of mind no less than of body. In arduous duty through-



out the Revolutionary War, suffering everything but death in the public service during the virtual anarchy which in some parts of the country succeeded the war, encountering exposure and peril in negotiating treaties with various Indian tribes, for eleven years in the cabinets of Washington and Adams when the heads of departments were the chief of servants, and subsequently in and out of Congress, as an uncompromising Federalist, in the thickest of the fight against a party which he regarded as fatal to the country's well-being, he needed Horace's "threefold brass," and he had it. I never saw him; but in my boyhood I heard no name more frequently than his, and my associations with him were of the severest virtue, of stern integrity, and of a remorseless strenuousness of purpose. Yet beneath this coat of mail there was a warm heart, no less kind than just, as full of human sympathies as of loyalty to the right, to his country, and to his God. I found this out when I read his biography, and still more fully when I read the recently printed admirable "Life" of his son John,<sup>1</sup> with whom his correspondence shows

<sup>1</sup> Written by his daughter, Mary Orne Pickering, his eldest child, who for many years shared his scholarly tastes and pursuits, and possessed traits of mind and of heart closely resembling his. The *Life* was completed in 1874, but was left by her in manuscript, and was printed in 1887, after her death.

with what painstaking love he could renew his boyhood in minute and always wise counsels as to all the details of a boy's and a young man's career. Still more recently, a friend, of nearly my own age, has spoken to me of his tenderness to her in her childhood. I have heard, too, of the pathos of his trembling voice, when in his old age he always sang in his pew in the First Church in Salem, in which he was for many years a worshiper and communicant. His posterity have not needed to wear the coat of mail as an outside garment; but, so far as I have known (and I have known not a few of them), they have inherited the "three-fold brass," and though gentle, modest, and singularly free from self-assertion, they have been characterized by the same inflexible uprightness, persistency of will-power, and immovable adherence to their own convictions of truth and duty.

During John Pickering's earlier years, his home was for the most part in the old Pickering house with his uncle John (H. U. 1759), who stood in a father's stead to him during his own father's frequent change of residence and engrossment in public affairs. He was fitted for college in the Salem Latin School, in part under the tuition of Belcher Noyes (H. U. 1765), who was probably among the best classical scholars of his time, as he was the author of a Latin Grammar. When Wash-

ington visited Salem, in 1789, young Pickering, as the foremost scholar, led the procession of the Latin School, and thus of the Salem public schools, which were marshaled in full array for the President's reception. He entered college in 1792. Here he distinguished himself equally in two departments in which a young man seldom thus moves at equal pace. He had, probably by inheritance, a musical ear, taste, and, from surviving record, I would say, even genius. He sang, played on the flute and the violin, was president of the Pierian Sodality, and introduced noteworthy improvements in their style of music; and though in his subsequent life he had but little time to bestow on his favorite art, it never lost its hold on his interest as a source of intense enjoyment. At the same time he devoted himself with special diligence to the ancient languages and their literature.

Classical studies were then not only neglected, but undervalued. The mania for everything French had infected even the college with a spurious Gallicism, which consisted mainly in despising antiquity without replacing it by so much as the pretense of anything better. There were no professors of either Greek or Latin. There were among the tutors several scholarly men, such as the elder Abiel Abbot, who in his ninetieth year still read Cicero, and Dr. Popkin, of Grecian fame;

and young Pickering doubtless had from them such furtherance as he needed. But in this department the college curriculum was then very scanty. Pickering largely transcended it, reading all the Greek and Latin authors then easily accessible,<sup>1</sup> and having for his companions in study for a part of the time his classmate William Wells, who edited the first complete American edition of Cicero, and William (afterward Rev. Dr.) Jenks, of the class next his own. At the same time he showed an unusual aptitude for mathematics, if, as Judge White, his eulogist, says, he presented for his mathematical thesis a paper containing the solution of certain problems by fluxions, which formed no part of the regular college course till many years later.

Shortly after graduating, Mr. Pickering was appointed Secretary of Legation at the court of Lisbon, and after two years in that service he became

<sup>1</sup> Some idea of the difficulty of procuring classical works at that time may be formed from his writing to his father in May, 1794, expressing his desire for a copy of Tacitus, telling him that none is to be had in Boston, and asking him to procure one, if possible, in Philadelphia. His father could find no copy there. The son, in September, 1795, begs his father to make a second search. In November, he acknowledges the receipt of a copy, and then asks his father whether by any chance a second copy can be found for a friend of his — probably Wells or Jenks — who wants one.

private secretary of Rufus King, then minister at the court of St. James. In both these situations he enjoyed much leisure for study and social opportunities of permanent value ; and while familiarizing himself with the languages and literature of continental Europe, he made in those languages, in his own, and in choice editions of the Greek and Latin classics, a collection of books, which was, when he brought it home, and by perpetual increase continued to be, one of the best private libraries in America.

Shortly after his return to this country, Mr. Pickering entered as a student the law office of Samuel (afterward Judge) Putnam, of Salem, and was admitted to the bar in 1804. But the college speedily came into rivalry with the bar. In 1806, as already an adept in the Hebrew and probably in one or two Semitic tongues beside, he was chosen Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental languages. A few years later he had the offer of the first appointment to the Eliot professorship of Greek literature, of which Edward Everett was the earliest incumbent. But Mr. Pickering had made elaborate preparation for the legal profession, having, while in Europe, read Justinian's *Institutes* and other works on the civil law, and he was profoundly interested in the law, not as a mere calling, but as a field for the exercise of his best

powers as a student, a thinker, and a writer. He took at once a high position, especially as a counselor, and though — or rather because — the Essex South bar was already eminent for the professional ability and moral worth of its members, there was for him ample room, which there might not have been for a man of an inferior type. In 1812, he for the first time took his seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in which he distinguished himself by a report on the Impressed Seamen grievance, non-partisan and strictly historical and statistical, yet designed to demonstrate, in accordance with the strong conviction of the Federalist party, and I believe with the impartial judgment of these later years, the utter needlessness of the war with Great Britain, then begun, and the flimsiness of this particular pretext on which it was advocated and sustained. His legislative career was suspended in 1814 by his appointment by Governor Strong as County Attorney. He subsequently returned to the Legislature as again a Representative from Salem, and as a Senator from both Essex and Suffolk counties. He was also associated with Governor Brooks as a member of his Executive Council.

In 1818 Mr. Pickering was elected an Overseer of Harvard College, and held that office for twenty-four years. In 1823 he was appointed on a com-

mittee of the Overseers, of which Judge Story was chairman, to examine the condition of the college with reference to needed reforms in instruction and administration, — a movement which may be considered as the beginning of what was long called the Salem régime, to which the college was and still is indebted for a new era of advancement and progress. In that same year he was elected a member of the Corporation, but declined accepting the charge on the sole ground of the distance between Salem and Cambridge, which was then literally five or six times as great as it is now.

In 1827 Mr. Pickering removed to Boston, and the next year was elected on the Board of Aldermen. In 1829 he was made City Solicitor, — an office which he resigned only a few weeks before his death, in 1846. In addition to this appointment, he had a large amount of office business, was engaged in many of the most important cases in the courts, and was a working member of a committee for the revision and rearrangement of the Massachusetts statutes. He also contributed to the "Law Reporter" articles demanding no small amount of research and literary labor. He spent in the work of his profession fully the normal number of hours, and had only law books in his office library.

But he must have carefully excluded law from

all save the hours which it specially claimed ; for had he devoted himself wholly to philology, he could hardly have attained linguistic scholarship more extensive or more thorough. He must have had a genius for language, an intuitive perception of its underlying principles and laws, and a memory for its details no less receptive, retentive, and infallible than Dr. Pierce's for names and dates. During his residence in England he gave close attention to the differences between the English of England and that of the United States. In 1815 he presented to the American Academy a paper on real and supposed Americanisms, which was printed in the *Memoirs of the Academy*, and in the following year was expanded into an octavo of between three and four hundred pages. This vocabulary is believed to have been at that time exhaustive and perfect, especially in establishing the English parentage of many words, phrases, and idioms which had survived in this country, while they had become obsolete in their birthland. The proper contents of such a vocabulary, particularly as to actual Americanisms, have been constantly growing, so that there was need of Mr. Bartlett's more copious work ; but Mr. Pickering's book, though in part superseded, is none the less a conspicuous monument of his careful observation, conscientious accuracy, and critical discernment.



Greatest of all services to American scholarship was Mr. Pickering's Greek and English Lexicon, which appeared in 1826, just too late for me to avail myself of it in college, but which for many years was my only, and still is my chief aid in all Greek except that of the New Testament. So far as I know, this was the earliest work of the kind, having been published seventeen years before the issue of the first edition of Liddell and Scott. Up to that time the Greek and Latin Lexicon of Schrevelius had been in general use, and the student reached the meaning of a Greek word, if at all, through a double translation. The basis of Mr. Pickering's work was a translation of Schrevelius, and in this he had the aid of Professor Daniel Oliver, of Dartmouth College; but he supplied almost all the references and other additional matter, and took the entire charge of revision, enlargement, and enrichment for subsequent editions. In 1833, he rendered further service in this department by superintending the preparation of a new and greatly improved edition of Jacobs's Greek Reader, which was of immense benefit to successive classes of students in our classical schools, and which, in an instance in which fact seems stranger than fiction, contained all the Greek that had been read by the first professor who took charge of that department in one of our most pretentious Western colleges.

While Mr. Pickering was thus making himself beneficently felt in our schools and colleges, he was enlarging his scope of study in the Oriental tongues, including even the Chinese, the language of Cochin-China, and various African and South Sea dialects. He was virtually the founder and was the first President of the American Oriental Society, and did all in his power to facilitate the linguistic researches and to sustain the undiminished interest of its members. He probably had a more intimate acquaintance than any other man of his time<sup>1</sup> with the languages of the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. He wrote several elaborate treatises upon them, one of which, "On the Adoption of a Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America," first printed in the *Memoirs of the American Academy*, was translated into German, and brought him into correspondence with the Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, and with other German scholars of like distinction. He was among the foremost in obtaining a thorough knowledge of Champollion's discoveries as to the hieroglyphic language of Egypt; and in the infancy of the lyceum institution, when men of real science and learning volunteered their services

<sup>1</sup> I should say, of all time, were it not that James Hammond Trumbull is believed in this department to have had no superior, probably no equal.

without fee for the instruction, and not the amusement, of grateful audiences, he prepared and delivered at various places a lecture from which I, at least, and doubtless very many other eager learners derived valuable knowledge on this subject before it was generally accessible.

Mr. Pickering's correspondence on the more recondite of his studies was constant, and if printed would be voluminous. His letters to Mr. Duponceau, who, like him, an able lawyer and a sound jurist, sought his recreation in the most obscure departments of philology, would alone fill a large volume.

Mr. Pickering's attainments in science and in general literature were such as to attract the admiration of all who knew him. Whatever the subject of conversation, he showed more than superficial knowledge of it, and his contributions to the best periodical literature embraced a wide range of topics, while his services as the president or an active member of various learned societies were unsparingly bestowed.

I first became acquainted with Mr. Pickering after his removal to Boston. He at that time lived in Franklin Street, in a region of the city then very quiet and almost rural, and inhabited by such families as now have their dwellings on the Back

Bay.<sup>1</sup> I was for three years the teacher of Hebrew for the ten or twelve of the Senior college class who chose that language for an elective study. Mr. Pickering took the kindest interest in my work, and gave me advice and assistance which bore a large part in whatever success I may have had with my classes.

On my first visit to Philadelphia, Mr. Pickering gave me letters to Mr. Duponceau, also to Mr. John Vaughan, who had his apartments in the building of the Philosophical Society, and whose breakfast-parties held a distinguished place among the social institutions of Philadelphia. I was invited to one of those parties, and was seated next to Mr. Duponceau, who almost embraced me for love

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pickering afterward removed to one of six new stone-front houses on Beacon, below Charles Street, then the only dwelling-houses between Charles Street and Brookline. It was not without misgiving that the family ventured to occupy an otherwise very desirable house, "so far out of the way" from most of their friends and visitors. After several years, Mr. Pickering returned to the neighborhood of his first Boston home, and took a house in Franklin Place, "as a more central and desirable winter residence." Franklin Place was a portion of Franklin Street, extending from Hawley to Federal Street, broad enough for a crescent-shaped park, neatly inclosed, with a monument surmounted by a vase, after a classic pattern, in the centre, and ample carriage ways round it.

of his very dear friend from whom I had so recently come. He took me for an adept in matters in which I was hardly a novice. He had all the vivacity of a Frenchman of the ancient régime; there is much less of it now than there used to be. A wizen-faced old man, with a countenance full of intelligence, with fluent speech in a slightly foreign accent, he talked not in, but on, unknown tongues, to me rather than with me; for he was beyond my depth, swimming freely where I could not begin to wade. He had in his coat a pocket lined with wash-leather and filled with snuff, with which, by the handful, he regaled himself at frequent intervals.

At Mr. Pickering's house I first saw Mr. Longfellow, at a party given to him and his wife on their wedding-journey after their marriage at Portland. He was then a small, slender man, with little resemblance to his later self, except in the expression of his countenance, then, as always, indicative of genius, refinement, and purity. My friend Felton was with me at that party, and I well remember the trepidation with which we took our dreary walk home to Cambridge in dense darkness, with no lights on our way except dim oil-lamps at the toll-houses, over a road believed to be infested by footpads, but on which we neither met nor passed a human being between the bridge and the

college yard. Indeed, the road on which now the rumble of cars and wagons never ceases was then so lonely that we used to make up parties of four or five to attend meetings or lectures in Boston.

I have never known a man more lovable or more dearly beloved than Mr. Pickering. He bore every trait of that highest type of man, — the Christian scholar and gentleman; and while to know him well was to grow constantly in affection and reverence for him, one could hardly have seen him for the first time without divining what manner of man he was. There is a portrait of him in his “*Life*,” suggestive, however, rather than adequate or satisfying. His appearance is to my mind more vividly recalled by Judge’s White’s description of it: —

“The personal appearance of Mr. Pickering was striking; it was both dignified and attractive. His stature was tall, and his form rather slender than stout, but well proportioned; yet it was the expression of his countenance and the fine intellectual cast of his features which were the distinguishing characteristics of his person. The form of his face was oval, with a remarkably high and ample forehead. His mild, clear hazel eye was expressive of the gentleness of his nature and the vigor of his intellect; while a straight nose, inclining to the Roman, and a finely formed mouth added to the regularity of his features. The expression of

his countenance when in repose was grave and thoughtful ; but his eye kindled benignantly, and a benevolent smile played upon his lips whenever any object of interest came before him. It was this peculiar benignity of expression, joined to an entire freedom from the slightest assumption of superiority, in word, look, or manners, which attracted towards him the young, and those who were seeking relief from poverty or distress ; while the intellectual refinement and remarkable dignity of his personal appearance and manners commanded the interest and respect of persons in all conditions of life."

## WILLIAM WELLS.

1796.

IN my sketch of Mr. Pickering I have named his classmate Wells,<sup>1</sup> who, when I was in college, was generally spoken of, and I have no doubt truly, as the most accomplished Latin scholar in America. The surviving records of him are scanty; yet as he was a tutor in the college, the intimate friend, as I know, of three, and I am inclined to think of six, successive Presidents, the editor of college textbooks, and the teacher of many youths who were fitted for college under his tuition, I ought not to omit such sketch of his life and services as I can give.

William Wells was born in 1773, in Broomsgrove, England. His father, Rev. William Wells (D. D., H. U. 1818), was a Unitarian minister in that place, a friend of Dr. Price, like him on the side of the colonists in our war of the Revolution, and active in collecting subscriptions for the relief of American prisoners of war. Though he had taken no part in politics and had no sympathy with

<sup>1</sup> Page 46.



the spirit of the French Revolution, yet, being not far from Birmingham, he became, with Dr. Priestley, an object of popular enmity, insomuch that he was threatened with the destruction of his house and his chapel. On that account, he came to this country in 1793, bought a farm in Brattleborough, Vermont, and was the first, and for many years the only, minister in that town. He was a highly educated man, and his eldest son, William, in addition to his home instruction, had been for several years a pupil at one of those dissenting colleges which, in the last century, under the direction of men justly eminent, are believed to have given a training in theology greatly superior, and in the classics substantially equal, to that of the universities.

William Wells the younger entered Harvard College at the beginning of the senior year, and graduated with honor, and with high reputation both as a scholar and as a writer. In 1798 he was appointed tutor in Latin, and held that office for two years. His purpose was to adopt his father's profession, for which his character and his capacity as a writer and speaker admirably fitted him; and he was throughout his life a diligent reader, inquirer, and student in the departments of knowledge specially belonging to that profession. But a temporary failure of health altered his plans.

In 1805 Mr. Wells opened a bookstore in Boston, in Court Street, opposite the Court-House. His aim was to keep in hand a supply of the best English books and of good editions of the Greek and Latin classics, and to import all of fresh English literature for which there could be a demand. His store became at once, and continued to be, the constant resort of all the literary men in Boston and Cambridge. After a few years he took as a partner Robert Lilly, who had been previously a member of a well-known printing firm. In my early remembrance the firm of Wells and Lilly held the same relative position in Boston that is now held by the two or three greatest publishing houses in their respective cities. They published editions of Tacitus and of other ancient classics, the earliest American edition of Griesbach's New Testament, Malte-Brun's Geography in seven large octavo volumes, the first American edition of the Waverley Novels, and many other of the then new books. Their greatest enterprise was the earliest edition on this side of the Atlantic of the entire works of Cicero, in twenty duodecimo volumes, from the text of Ernesti, with his copious and exhaustive indexes of various kinds which fill the last three volumes, and which constitute the most complete apparatus of the kind within my knowledge. This edition is beautifully printed; it had Mr. Wells's

careful supervision ; it has a thoroughly inviting aspect, and, leaving out of the account *éditions de luxe*, I know of none which I should prefer to this for reading and reference.

Before Mr. Lilly became his partner, Mr. Wells prepared and published a volume which was used as a text-book in college for many years, and which, if reissued, would be unequalled in its kind for present use, — a series of extracts from Latin authors, with short biographical sketches, with notes original and selected, and with a graceful dedication in Latin to President Kirkland. About a fourth part of this volume — nearly a hundred octavo pages — is from Quintilian, who is not, indeed, wholly banished from the college curriculum, but whose sound sense and practical wisdom in everything relating to rhetoric and oratory, by no means obsolete with the lapse of centuries, might claim for him a more prominent place. At a later period Mr. Wells published an abridgment of Adam's Latin Grammar, which I fail to find in the college library, and of which therefore I can say nothing.

Wells and Lilly had for a series of years the prosperity due to intelligent and well-directed enterprise. But in 1826 almost the whole of their stock, valued at little less than a hundred thousand dollars, was destroyed by fire. The Court-House was burned. It was believed that the opposite

building might have been saved but for the indiscreet zeal of firemen, who burst it open for the admission of water, and thus made an easy way for the stronger element of the two. The term of insurance had just expired, and Mr. Wells had left with his clerk an application for the renewal of the policy, with directions that he should deliver it immediately. The clerk postponed it till the next day, and the consequence was an almost total and absolutely irretrievable loss. Such assets as remained little more than sufficed to meet the liabilities of the firm.

Mr. Wells was thus stranded more than midway on his life-voyage, with a family of seven children. He had never ceased to be a teacher; for, while in active business, he had taken private pupils in preparation for college or for mercantile life. Teaching was thenceforward his profession. In 1827 he removed to Cambridge, and bought the large three-story house near Mount Auburn, now occupied by his daughter, Mrs. Newell,<sup>1</sup> where he

<sup>1</sup> It is worth recording, as illustrating the growth of Cambridge within the distinct memory of many still living, that Mr. Wells bought this house, with sixty acres of land adjacent to it, and reaching to Fresh Pond, for seventy-seven hundred dollars. A hundred times that sum would no more than cover the present worth of that land, with the buildings on it.

opened a boarding-school for boys. His rooms were soon filled to their utmost capacity, no less than twenty-five pupils being sometimes under his roof. His school had a widespread reputation, so that parents from great distances often placed their sons under his care. He had much of the inflexible adherence to rule which characterizes the English in comparison with the American school-master; but his was the type of strictness which supersedes severity. He was the master of his school, but of scholars who both respected and loved him. He required good work; but he knew its fitting limits no less than its tests. The boys felt the power of his character, in its uprightness, generosity, unfailing courtesy, strong intellectual fibre, and high tone of moral principle and sentiment. To have been under such a man was to many of them a subject for lifelong gratitude. The ladies of his family seconded him in his charge, and were unsparing in motherly and sisterly care, while as to the details of domestic arrangements there was the most liberal provision, so that those who came from affluent homes found no lack of comfort or even of luxury. After several years thus devoted to the education of boys, as his daughters became able to be his colleague-teachers, he received girls instead of boys into his family, and was no less successful in this new departure.

Strange as it may now seem, the removal to Cambridge was to Mr. Wells and his family like an emigration to a desert land. They had lived in Summer Street, in a quarter of Boston then inhabited by many of the best people, and he had been in daily intercourse with all the literary and scholarly men in and about Boston. His new home was a mile from the college, on the Watertown road (now Brattle Street), which was a mere lane, with neither pavement nor sidewalk, and for a great part of the year a continuous quagmire, with no means of communication with the great world except by a two-horse stage-coach twice a day. Dr. Kirkland, with whom he had been closely intimate, was just leaving Cambridge. There were not more than half a dozen visitable college families, and hardly as many more that belonged to their circle. Mr. Quincy's accession to the Presidency was a great gain to Mr. Wells. The two had long been neighbors and friends in Boston, and while Mr. Quincy remained in Cambridge, Mr. Wells always dined with him on Sunday, thus securing his own uniform attendance at the afternoon church service without duplicating his long walk. Other friends were rapidly added to the circle; the street was made passable; the hourly omnibus brought Boston within easy reach; and the family that had felt so isolated, though still

geographically in the outer circumference, gradually came to occupy socially a central position. Mr. Wells also enjoyed, for the last twenty-five years of his life, the filial attention and devotion of his pastor and son-in-law, Rev. Dr. Newell (H. U. 1824), of kindred spirit with his own in love of learning, refinement of taste and manners, simplicity and purity of heart, and religious trust and reverence.

Mr. Wells's later years were serene and peaceful. With most of his family around him, with a few old friends and not a few of younger generations who had succeeded to his friendship, with sufficient bodily exercise in the no longer onerous care of his grounds, with unabated love of books and mental hospitality for new thought and learning, with health but slightly impaired till near the close, with undiminished vigor of mind, and with a cheerful Christian faith that remained steadfast under the shadow of death, he ended in 1860 a life that had been peculiarly happy, and perhaps none the less so for the courage with which he had encountered disaster and loss, and the energy with which he had surmounted the seeming wreck of fortune.

## WILLIAM JENKS.

1797, D. D. 1842.

WILLIAM JENKS was born in Newton, in 1778. His father having removed to Boston during his infancy, he was fitted for college at the Boston Latin School. While in college, he not only maintained a high rank, but, as I have already said,<sup>1</sup> devoted himself to classical study. After graduating he was a classical teacher in Boston, at the same time, or subsequently, officiating as reader at Christ Church in Cambridge, which for half a century after the Revolutionary War had no resident rector. In 1805 he was ordained pastor of a Congregational church in Bath, Maine, — then the seat of an extensive foreign commerce with its subsidiary arts and industries. Its prosperity was so far checked and its inhabitants were so impoverished by the embargo and the war of 1812, as to render it difficult for Mr. Jenks's parish to continue a competent support for their minister's family. He received at that time a unanimous and earnest invitation to the pastorate of the North Church in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, as successor to Rev. Dr. Buckminster.

<sup>1</sup> Page 46.



My relations with Dr. Jenks, though I was then but a year old, unconsciously began with that invitation. On his declining it, a bare majority of the society chose for their minister a man of the ultra-Hopkinsian type, and a large minority, dissatisfied with this action, seceded to the South Church, of which I was for many years the pastor, having among my choicest friends and most efficient supporters and helpers several families that would never have been under my charge had Dr. Jenks responded to their wishes. In this case I should not have known how much I lost, while I am sure that it would have been my great privilege and joy to have had in my clerical novitiate such a neighbor and friend as he would have been. His chief inducement to remain in Bath was his appointment to a professorship of Oriental Languages and English Literature in Bowdoin College, which, without requiring residence in Brunswick, gave him a stipend sufficient to supplement his diminished salary.

Dr. Jenks has with the New Church the merit of establishing its first society in Maine. How early he became conversant with the writings of Swedenborg I do not know. It was certainly before his invitation to Portsmouth; for my friends used to speak of his sermons and devotional services at that time not only as preëminently spir-

itual, but as suggestive of that close communion with things unseen and supernal which ought not to be, but certainly is, peculiarly characteristic of those under the influence of the Swedish seer. In 1812 he lent some of Swedenborg's treatises to certain of the most intelligent and devout members of his church, who probably, as long as he remained with them, were satisfied with his ministry; but when he left them, in 1818, without withdrawing from the church, they formed an association which met once a week, to read together the "Heaven and Hell" and such other of Swedenborg's books as came into their hands. Dr. Jenks's successor was an inexorable Calvinist, and he instituted a vigorous and bitter persecution of these persons, from the pulpit and through the press, with gross misrepresentations of the New Church beliefs. They were thus driven, in self-defense, to establish their own separate worship, and to organize a society for its maintenance; while they were in due form excommunicated from the church which could ill afford to lose them, and which seemed rather to perform an act of self-excommunication in repudiating men and women of such surpassing purity, excellence, and beneficent influence.

In 1818 Dr. Jenks returned to Boston, and opened a private school. But his attention was early directed to the moral destitution of the

sailors in the port of Boston, and under the auspices of a "Society for the Religious and Moral Instruction of the Poor" he established a chapel for seamen on Central Wharf. About the same time and under the same auspices he held religious services in the western part of the city, and a free chapel for this purpose was built in Botolph Street. He was thus the first city, or rather town, missionary in Boston. Subsequently he became pastor of a church formed in part from the subjects of his mission, and in part from members of the older churches, and a house of worship — still standing, though secularized — was built in Green Street. Of this church he was the minister for twenty-five years.

I first saw Dr. Jenks when, in one of my college years, he delivered the Dudleian Lecture on the topic designated by the founder, "for detecting, convicting, and exposing the idolatry, errors, and superstitions of the Romish Church." Though his charity had a mantle broad enough to cover all forms of Protestantism, and though I have no doubt that in after years he appended an extra breadth to throw over Romanism also, he then had the old Puritan horror for everything connected with the Roman Church, to which he certainly would not have dared to give a Christian name. His lecture consisted in the application to the Pope

and papacy of every foul name, vile epithet, and damnatory utterance in the Apocalypse. He employed the unmodified Saxon phraseology of our common version, and introduced such realistic terms and imagery as cannot else have been heard in the College pulpit since the College had a pulpit of its own. His name was at that time well known in the College as that of an accomplished scholar. At a subsequent period he served for thirteen years as an elected member of the Board of Overseers.

My earliest conscious relation with Dr. Jenks was one on which I look back with sincere regret, though I can hardly say with self-reproach. Dr. Jenks was the most modest of men. The only person to whom he failed to do justice was himself. It is little to say that he was "clothed with humility;" it hung all about him in superfluous drapery. No man of his time was better fitted to write a commentary on the Scriptures, both Old and New. But while he would have shrunk in self-distrust from such an enterprise, the prestige of his well-known learning was made availing by a publishing firm in inducing him to prepare what was termed "The Comprehensive Commentary on the Holy Bible," in five huge octavo volumes of eight or nine hundred pages each, with a title-page as long as the page in which I describe it, holding

out the lure of woodcuts, cheap engravings, blank family record, and the like. So successful was this enterprise that no less than one hundred and twenty thousand copies were sold. The basis of the work is Matthew Henry's Commentary, which, published early in the last century, preceded, if not the birth of biblical criticism, its advent in England, and which would have needed very slight modification to make it complete and perfect, had the whole Bible been just written in English by his co-religionists, and with the express purpose of demonstrating and illustrating their specific type of theology. It was the habit of Dr. Jenks's early days—and he had not outgrown it—to hold Henry in profoundest reverence, not only as a holy man, which he undoubtedly was, notwithstanding some very unholy things in his Commentary, but as an interpreter of the sacred writings, in which character his authority had become obsolete. To his Commentary were added the "Practical Observations" of Scott, which are always edifying, but often very remotely related to the portion of Scripture on which they are founded. Henry and Scott make the body of the work, which contains also annotations, for the most part genuinely critical, from fourteen commentators, whose names are given in the title, "and many other writers on the Scriptures." To this heterogeneous mass of

materials Dr. Jenks, in his lowliness of spirit, adds very little, though he now and then makes a mild protest against some of the most objectionable of Henry's notes. Thus on Abraham's seeing the smoke of Sodom — it is not said that he was glad to see it — Henry dilates at some length on the valuable contribution that will be made to the happiness of heaven by the eternal and unobstructed view of the bottomless pit, and the editor adds, in a marginal note abreast of the passage, that this sentiment is "by many regarded with horror, as contrary to humanity, and evincing a soul *without natural affection*, and therefore *reprobate*." The work appeared in 1835, and I was asked to review it for the "Christian Examiner." I was a very young man, fresh from Cambridge, and familiar with the latest results of biblical criticism; and I showed "justice without mercy" in my handling of the work as a whole, and especially in my treatment of Henry, whose fervent piety, even in my mature judgment, fails to atone for the ethical enormities into which he is led by his unreasoning partiality for such men and women in the Old Testament as in their moral delinquencies best illustrate the world's need of the New. I spoke with no little severity, also, of the tawdry book-making devices which helped the sale, but were an insult to the editor and to his work. I said, indeed,

a kind word or two about Dr. Jenks ; but still my article can hardly have failed to grieve and wound him. Not long afterward a friend of mine told me that Dr. Jenks had spoken to him about the article, saying that so far as he himself was concerned he forgave the young man with all his heart, but that it was utterly unpardonable to write so irreverently about Matthew Henry. I have been rereading the article, and I would rather intensify than retract every opinion contained in it concerning the contents of that Commentary ; but had I known Dr. Jenks then as I knew him afterward, I would rather have let my pen lie idle for months than have consented to be his critic.

At a later time I became intimately acquainted with Dr. Jenks. He was a fellow-member with me of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, of the American Antiquarian Society, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the American Oriental Society, — of most or all of them an officer, and he always attended their meetings. In the strictest sense of the word he *belonged* to them all. He entered lovingly into every movement for the evangelization of his fellow-men, red, black, and white. He was a Vice-President of the Antiquarian Society, delivered its first annual Address in 1813, and another anniver-

sary Address just fifty years later, and was eulogized by Hon. Stephen Salisbury and Governor Lincoln, at a special meeting held on the occasion of his death. No one had a richer store than he of memories and traditions illustrative of the history of Massachusetts. The liberal culture comprehended in the somewhat vague title of "Arts and Sciences" was his in an eminent degree. He was second only to Mr. Pickering in securing the formation of the Oriental Society, and the only man of his time who could be compared with him as an Oriental scholar. As a Hebraist he had no superior, perhaps no equal. How many other Oriental languages he had studied I am unable to say; but the Chinese was not unfamiliar to him, and he took a scholarly no less than a religious interest in the linguistic researches and achievements of not a few of the missionaries in the Eastern continent.

I never heard him preach except when he gave the Dudleian Lecture. I doubt whether he preached much after the dissolution of his church in Green Street; but I well remember the fervor and pathos of his prayers. He became very deaf. He carried, wherever he went, an ear-trumpet, terminating in a perforated metallic pan, into which, as he held it beneath a speaker's mouth, "speech dropped like the rain," so that in conversation, or



in listening to public addresses, he appeared to lose nothing; while to all who knew him, it was a felt privilege and pleasure so to modulate the voice as best to suit his kind and genial receptivity.

He was a gentleman, not in surface alone, but from within outward, and I never knew a man who had in him more of all which that word means. His manners indicated a courtesy inborn, high-bred and heart-felt. His very costume seemed specially made for the man that he was, — exquisitely neat, in the most elegant style of the generation that was fast disappearing, with smallclothes, knee and shoe buckles, and silk stockings when the weather did not demand instead the finest of worsted. To the last, though he reached his eighty-ninth year, he showed no token either of mental failure, or of diminished interest in his wonted pursuits and associations. His countenance, instead of having the worn and weary aspect of lengthened years, was more and more radiant with kindness and benignity, with the peace of God and the hope full of immortality. While we missed his genial intercourse, there was a rare literalness in our sorrow that “we should *see his face* no more.”

## DANIEL APPLETON WHITE.

1797, LL. D. 1837.

VERY few men not permanent officers of Harvard College have been so long, so closely, and so beneficently connected with it as Judge White was. He was born in 1776, in that part of Methuen now included in the city of Lawrence. He was descended from William White, who came from Haverhill, in England, in 1635, and, after making trial of two other places of residence, settled in Haverhill, Mass., where many of his posterity still live. The family, both under its own name and in the progeny of its female members, has had a signally honorable record, with no corrupt branches and but few worthless shoots on the family tree. They are a very numerous race. Judge White's grandfather, whose mother was a Miss Gilman, of Exeter, and who married a Miss Phillips, of Andover, was one of his father's fourteen children, and the Judge himself was one of seventeen, thirteen of whom had families of their own. Daniel's father was not rich, but in easy circumstances, with a large farm that supplied all the necessaries

and many of the luxuries of life, and probably with some property beside. But of ready money there was then very little, even among the most prosperous New England farmers, and this boy would not have been sent to college, though he wanted to go, save for the reputation of superior proficiency at school. But so well was this established that before he had completed his sixteenth year he was sent to the academy at Atkinson, N. H., then one of the best as one of the oldest endowed schools in New England. Here he studied never less than fourteen, often sixteen, hours in the day, and he computed the actual period in which he worked at that rate in order to fit himself for college at seven months and a half. We are sometimes surprised on learning how little time was spent in preparation for college by men of earlier days, and are apt to underrate the requirements for admission. But when we consider that about a third of the school year is now consumed in vacations and holidays, and that games and athletics occupy fully half of the normal school-day, young White's amount of study would be equivalent to three years or more of school-life at the present time. My belief is that, while the facilities for certain branches of study and the possible attainments in them were much less than now, the actual amount of study performed and of knowledge acquired by an aver-

age scholar, from sixty to a hundred years ago, largely exceeded the utmost amount now performed and acquired by the best scholars.

Yet young White's reminiscences of college in his time give us no reason to praise the past at the expense of the present. There must have been a broader separatism between the better and the worse portions of a class than we have known in later years. He had a class remarkable for the number of men whose names reflect honor upon it. Of the fifty-four in the catalogue, eight filled so conspicuous places in public, professional, or academic life as to be well remembered still, and fourteen more occupied, to my certain knowledge, positions of the highest respectability. On the other hand, the longest-lived but one of the class, as to whom Judge White was haunted by the fear that he would live to be the oldest graduate, was for many years the inmate of an almshouse, and there were several of his classmates that may have owed to early death their escape from an equally unhonored old age. The French Revolution in its demoralizing influence was strongly felt in college, and Paine's scurrilous attacks on Christianity were diligently circulated. The early college law which forbade the use of "distilled spirits, or any such mixed drinks as flip or punch," had been so far modified as to license punch, "it being, as now

generally made, not an intoxicating drink ;” why, it does not appear. In the Buttery kept in Massachusetts Hall by a salaried graduate, wine and stronger drinks were for sale to the students, — an arrangement sagaciously devised to prevent them from purchasing such commodities at shops and taverns, and of great convenience to the young men, as such purchases were charged on their term-bills. At least one fourth of every class became sots. The Gallican spirit rendered many of the students restive under due restraint, and there were never wanting embers of mutinous discontent which a mere breath might kindle into open rebellion. College work was sometimes suspended for several days, the entire Faculty being employed in inquest into some recent escapade or outrage. Discipline was publicly administered in the chapel at morning prayers,<sup>1</sup> and Judge White relates one instance in which a student met a sentence of rustication by brandishing a huge cane and swearing at the Faculty. On this occasion one of the Faculty

<sup>1</sup> The chapel service was made in those days the occasion for the transaction and promulgation of not a few affairs very remotely connected with the religious solemnities. Not far from this time, the students having complained of a keg of rancid butter, the Faculty appointed a tasting committee ; and in consequence of their report, the President was authorized to announce at morning prayers that the objectionable butter would be used “only for sauce.”

moved a change of the sentence to expulsion ; the question was instantly put by the President, and the vote was passed unanimously.

Young White came from a strictly yet cheerfully religious family, and seems to have brought his native soil with him ; so that transplanting did him no harm, but rather strengthened the roots and fibres of principle and character. He took, however, a foremost part in all that was best in college life. He had the highest honor at Commencement, and I am inclined to think that he was regarded as second to no member of his class throughout their four years. He was instrumental in forming a Coffee Club, probably deeming punch less innocuous than it was said to be in the college laws. He was one of the founders of the Hasty Pudding Club, which was the most sober of juvenile associations. It met on Saturday evening ; at first for conversation, with the early addition of literary exercises, "concluding with a hymn sung to the tune of St. Martin's, as appropriate to the evening," which had at that period a sabbatical sacredness.<sup>1</sup> White delivered the first anniversary

<sup>1</sup> As late as 1833, I know not how much later, the Hasty Pudding Club retained much of its original simplicity. The exercises were of the gravest kind. The meetings were held in the room of one of the members ; the pudding was still made by the woman first employed, a Mrs. Stimson, who

oration before this club. He was also appointed, according to a custom which existed for many years, to deliver in the chapel, before the Faculty and students, a eulogy on one of his classmates, whose death occurred in his Senior year. He gave the Valedictory of his class before the Speaking Club, an association for mutual improvement in oratory. He was the first person ever chosen to deliver a Class-day oration in English, Latin having been previously employed in that service. He declined the appointment, probably because it was an innovation. As for the Commencement part, he considered the first honor due to his classmate Horace Binney, and regretted that it was not so assigned. The friendly relations of the rival candidates were not for a moment disturbed by

lived near the present site of the College House ; two of the members transported the kettle of pudding from her house ; and a bowl of the pudding was always carried to the parietal officer — tutor or proctor — of the “entry” in which the meeting was held. Some of my younger readers may be unaware of the important place which hasty pudding had in the literature and science of that day. In 1793 Joel Barlow published a poem in three cantos on *Hasty Pudding*, in which it is too little to say that there is more of true poetry than any explorer has ever been able to discover in the ten huge books of his *Columbiad* ; and in 1795 Count Rumford issued an elaborate scientific essay, with philanthropic purpose, on the fit methods of making, serving, and eating hasty pudding.

the preference of White, and so long as he lived their mutual affection remained unimpaired, and was sustained by correspondence, though the distance between Massachusetts and Philadelphia rendered their face-to-face intercourse infrequent.

It may not be without interest to know the cost of an education at Harvard College nearly a century ago. Judge White, in a partial autobiography, reckons his strictly college expenses (including board) for the four years at four hundred and eighty dollars, and the entire cost, "including clothes, books, traveling expenses, pocket-money, etc.," at eight hundred dollars. But this was more than his father could afford, and in order to liquidate the debt thus incurred he spent two years as the master of the public Grammar School in Medford, where he frequented the house of Rev. Dr. Osgood, the tradition of whose eccentricities has perhaps survived his worthy fame as the foremost man in the ministry of his time and neighborhood, in substantial learning, ability as a writer and preacher, and sound practical wisdom. Judge White's intimacy with him and with the Misses Osgood, who inherited and exceeded all of their father's gifts and oddities to which they could be heirs, was terminated only by death.

Mr. White had a strong leaning toward the clerical profession. But his father and mother



were Baptists, and were in full sympathy with that denomination, except that they had come to regard the accustomed sabbatical austerity of the Puritan type as belonging to the Jewish Sabbath, and not to the Christian Lord's Day. Their son had gradually imbibed more liberal views, which resulted in his being for the greater part of his life a devout member of a Unitarian church. He was unwilling to adopt a profession in which he would lack the approval and sympathy of parents to whose example and nurture he owed the immovable religious faith and principle which had kept his youth pure, and were to be the strength of his manhood and the joy of his declining years. He therefore, though not without reluctance, made choice of the law.

In 1799, at the beginning of the academic year, Mr. White returned to Cambridge, intending to devote himself primarily to professional study, and accordingly entered his name in a law office; but he was almost immediately appointed tutor in Latin,—a position which he held for four years, at the same time so far giving his leisure hours to the law that these four years were accepted as equivalent to two of the normal three years of study required for admission to the bar. As a classical scholar he had already gained a distinguished reputation for his years, and for the residue of his life he had few equals in his familiarity with the

master-works of antiquity, and no superior in the full appreciation and the exquisite taste with which he enjoyed and utilized them. In my youth there were surviving traditions of his tutorship, in which he anticipated the discovery of more recent times, that students are gentlemen when they are treated as gentlemen.

On leaving Cambridge, Mr. White entered the office of Mr. (afterward Judge) Putnam, of Salem, where he was a fellow-student with his lifelong friend, John Pickering. While they were thus together, they were induced by a Salem publisher to prepare an edition of Sallust, — the earliest American edition of any classic author. It was an independent work, the notes, though most of them taken from the Delphin and other editions, being carefully selected, revised, and supplemented. Very few copies of this work were ever seen; for almost all were destroyed on the eve of publication, in a fire, which so crippled the publishers that they had neither the capital nor the courage to reprint the volume.

In 1804 Mr. White was admitted to the bar, and opened an office in Newburyport. He had from the first entire public confidence, and came into extensive business. He was also recognized at once as a beneficent force in the community. He was a trustee of Dummer Academy, one of the

founders of the Merrimack Bible Society, and an active member of the school-board; and before the Merrimack Humane Society he delivered an Address which passed through several editions, and bore its part in furthering the formation and work of a class of philanthropic associations whose efficient service alone in process of time made them no longer necessary. In the first year of his professional life, his diary contains a memorandum which might be quoted as virtually his programme for all succeeding years: "Entered on a more extended course of study than of late: Greek after breakfast; Latin after dinner; some of the Scriptures every day."

In 1810 Mr. White was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts. It was the year in which Gerry was chosen Governor, and the Federalist party, to which Mr. White was strongly attached, remained out of power for that and the following year. On its reinstatement he was placed on important committees, and was chairman of a joint committee of the two Houses, appointed to consider the alleged wrong-doings of the national administration. His report claimed the right of concerted action on the part of such state legislatures as were in opposition, but pronounced the exercise of that right under then existing circumstances to be inexpedient. It is of some interest to recall the agency

of Mr. White in the incorporation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Strangely enough, the act was vehemently opposed in the Senate, not on theological, but on economical grounds, because we had so little religion ourselves that we could not afford to export it. Mr. White replied that "religion is one of those commodities of which, the more we export, the more we have at home," — a truth which now seems self-evident, but then needing the demonstration which ensued in the fact that the foreign missionary enterprise did more than all things else toward rousing the religious public of New England from the lethargy in which it had lain supinely for more than half a century.

Mr. White retained his seat in the Senate through a part of the winter session of 1815; but in the preceding autumn he had been chosen Representative of his district in Congress by an almost unanimous vote. In the early spring he made all his arrangements, and had even packed his trunk for his journey to Washington, when he received from Governor Strong an appointment as Judge of Probate for Essex County. The acceptance of this office meant, of course, the abandonment of his political career, which perhaps was nearly closed, for one so loyal as he was to his convictions, by the growing ascendancy of the Demo-

cratic party. His chief reason, however, for remaining at home was that he was then the father of two motherless daughters, who needed his care and oversight.

Judge White's character had in public life no other so authentic and patent self-exhibition as at the outset of what was to be its chief sphere of service. The probate business of the county and of the whole State had been conducted loosely and irregularly, and he at once instituted a régime of order and system, which was distasteful to such persons as preferred their own times and ways to those of the court, and which was made, as almost every available matter then was, the subject of slanderous attack by the party supreme in the country, though not yet in the State. A memorial, embodying complaints and alleged grievances, was sent to the House of Representatives, and the enemies of the Judge had sufficient influence to procure the appointment of a special committee, which held what has hardly been known before or since, an *ex parte* examination, giving audience to the witnesses of the memorialists, without affording the Judge and the Register the opportunity of appearing in their own vindication. The result was as remarkable as the mode of procedure, — a report approving the methods complained of, as being, "some of them expressly required by different

statutes, others by the Supreme Court adjudged to be necessary, and, so far as they could find, all of them useful," — a report unanimously adopted. Judge White hereupon published a treatise upon the Jurisdiction and Proceedings of the Courts of Probate in Massachusetts, which led to the adoption of his reforms in other counties, and to the legal establishment of salaries for the officers of the Probate Courts in lieu of fees. Judge White held this office for thirty-eight years, — long enough for almost all the estates in the county to pass through his hands, and for members of nearly every family to be brought into relation with him. It was for him a congenial office, as it offered unnumbered occasions for kind thought, care, and provision in behalf of widows, orphans, and persons incapable of managing their own affairs; while rigid adherence to rule and law rather enlarged than restricted the scope for a wisely benevolent discretion. Under his administration, whatever the law would permit was uniformly given or conceded where the moral claim was the strongest. As a native of Essex County, I well know in what reverence and gratitude he was held as virtually the guardian of those who needed that he should be so, as an adviser always judicious and kind, and as unfailingly gentle and courteous in his intercourse with people of all sorts and conditions.

In 1817 Judge White removed to Salem, where he resided till his death in 1861. About that time his intimate connection with the College was renewed, and closed only with his life. He was one of the directors of the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education in Harvard College, under whose auspices the Divinity School was founded, Divinity Hall was built, and beneficiary funds were raised for the aid of students in theology, and by which the Divinity School was in great part controlled till 1826, when its property was transferred to the President and Fellows. For eleven years he was on the Board of Overseers, and was almost always a member of one or more of the committees appointed by that Board. Before I returned to Cambridge as a professor, I was associated with him for several years on the Committee on the department of Philosophy, of which he was chairman. The examinations were oral, and I distinctly recall the minuteness with which he took note of every student's performance, and his solicitude that no one should fail of ample justice in the returns of the committee.

In August, 1844, Judge White delivered the Address, meant to be annual, before the Alumni of the College, in which, expressing his deep concern for the moral safety and well-being of the students, he said, "Let the next foundation laid here

in aid of education be a Professorship of the Philosophy of the Heart and the Moral Life." This sentence fell under the eye of his friend, Miss Caroline Plummer,<sup>1</sup> a native and resident of Salem, and led her to add to her will a codicil, dated March 9, 1845, making provision "for the support of a Professor of the Philosophy of the Heart, and of the Moral, Physical, and Christian Life, in Harvard University, whose province it shall be, . . . on the basis of Christian faith and love, to enlighten all who are or may be engaged in the education pursued there, whether governors, instructors, or students, in the manner of discharging their respective duties, so as best to promote generous affections, manly virtues, and Christian conduct, and, more especially, to aid and instruct the students in what most nearly concerns their moral and physical welfare, their health, their good habits, and their Christian characters, acting towards them, by personal intercourse and persuasion, the part of a parent, as well as that of a teacher and friend." Miss Plummer died in 1854, and in the following year, on the foundation thus laid, the President and Fellows established the Plummer Professorship of Christian Morals, and elected as

<sup>1</sup> Miss Plummer was the daughter of Dr. Joshua Plummer (H. U. 1773), the granddaughter of Rev. Isaac Lyman, of York, Maine, and cousin of the elder Theodore Lyman.



the first incumbent Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) Frederic D. Huntington, whom I succeeded, having as my successor the very man whom I would have chosen above all others, my pupil and friend, Rev. Francis Greenwood Peabody, D. D., the son of my very dear friend, Rev. Dr. Ephraim Peabody. Under him, the present efficient organization of the department of religious instruction, with six preachers to the University, who are pastors as well as preachers, has been established. Thus a system which hardly admits of improvement, is of unspeakable benefit in the present time, and has the richest promise for an indefinite future, has grown from a single well-timed sentence.

For the last forty-two years of his life Judge White occupied the house in Court Street, which, with its spacious and well-stocked library and its large and refined hospitality, must have a cherished place in the memory of not a few of my readers. It was a resort and rallying point for many of the best and the most distinguished men of the time, and a centre of healthful and extended influence in behalf of whatever appertained to the intellectual, moral, and religious well-being, nurture, and growth of all within its sphere.

Judge White was among the founders of the lyceum system, which was at the outset a purely philanthropic movement, with no other purpose

than the diffusion of useful knowledge. He was the first president of the Salem Lyceum, and also of the Essex County Lyceum, before which he delivered the first annual address, expounding the design and use of the institution, and defending it against objections then rife, but now as obsolete as the Lyceum itself, in its original meaning and aim, has become.

Though long a conservative as to the anti-slavery movement, Judge White came gradually into sympathy with it on its pacific side; and had his life been prolonged, he would have been among the foremost to recognize the necessity of forceful resistance to the pro-slavery rebellion. While it was impossible for him to be an agitator, or to denounce those who honestly differed from him, he at a very early period ceased to offer wine to his guests, and did all in his power to discourage its use. In 1842 he writes in his Diary with reference to a college dinner: "What pleased me at the examination public dinner, yesterday, was the total absence of all beverage but cold water, it being the first time I ever witnessed such a spectacle on any occasion of the kind at Cambridge." In his Address before the Alumni, he urges with intense earnestness the necessity of combating intemperance as the easily besetting sin of college life, and adds, though with a discrimination which his judicial mind could not

fail to make, a strong protest against tobacco. In fine, as to all matters of social reform he was in opinion and practice an ultraist, without ever impugning the right of individual judgment and opinion, or speaking or thinking less well of others because they did not agree with him.

In Salem Judge White was associated with such a goodly number of eminent men as can now be found only in our largest cities, — Dr. Holyoke, the centenarian, Rev. Dr. Prince, of world-wide reputation in physical science, Judge Story, Nathaniel Bowditch, John Pickering, Leverett Saltonstall, Nathaniel Silsbee, for many years United States Senator, besides several of the enterprising merchants who, with Mr. Silsbee, held the entire command of the commerce of the United States with the East Indies. Many of these men had died or removed during Judge White's lifetime; but while they were all with him, he held no second place among them, and when he died he had long been regarded as on every ground the first citizen of Salem. The last forty years of his life were devoted largely to literature, both modern and classical, and no man can have been more conversant than he with the best books, or less conversant with those not of the best. He wrote much, and so well as to make it a matter of regret that most of what he gave to the press was on special and limiting

occasions. Among his papers was found a carefully prepared translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which is undoubtedly a perfectly authentic representation of the literal meaning of the Epistle, though it could be fitted for scholarly use only by copious annotations, for which he probably lacked the requisite materials.

For many years I was often his guest. Indeed, I accounted his house as one of my homes, on my frequent visits to Salem, while I lived in New Hampshire. His home life, except as clouded by bereavements, all of which had their sunny heavenward side, was singularly happy. Twice a widower in earlier time, for nearly forty years he had in the wife who survived him every gift that could make him and his and her children happy, could confer an added grace and charm on his genial hospitality, and leave a reverent, grateful memory, lifelong in the hearts of his and her guests and friends.

Judge White retained till within three months of his death not only unimpaired bodily health and strength, but much of the aspect of vigorous middle life: his majestic form unbent, his high, noble forehead scarcely wrinkled, his hair but slightly sprinkled with gray, his serenely benignant countenance, with its mobile expression and its ready glow, — an ideal old age realized. His mind remained clear and bright to the last moment.

On the 2d of January, 1861, he attended at Cambridge the annual meeting of the committee for the examination of the Divinity School. After the meeting he made several visits, calling on me for the first and last time in my new home, to which I had come three months previously. The fatigue of the day produced or developed symptoms of a heart disease from which he never recovered. He foresaw the inevitable issue, and awaited it with more than calmness, — with what he himself termed “perfect trust and peace.” He never seemed happier. Till the last day of his life he sat in his easy-chair, in his usual dress, and took unabated pleasure in the visits of his friends. On March 30th, he would have risen but for the advice of his physician. Early in the afternoon of that day his granddaughter repeated to him Mr. Norton’s hymn, commencing, —

“My God ! I thank thee ; may no thought  
E’er deem thy chastisements severe ;  
But may this heart, by sorrow taught,  
Calm each wild wish, each idle fear.”

When she closed he said, “That hymn has been on my tongue innumerable times,” and he himself repeated the second stanza : —

“Thy mercy bids all nature bloom ;  
The sun shines bright, and man is gay ;  
Thine equal mercy spreads the gloom,  
That darkens o’er his little day.”

He then repeated again with significant emphasis, "Thine *equal* mercy." These were his last words, except that he asked for water, which he drank, holding the glass in his own hand. Before two o'clock he passed away.

Judge White had been in his lifetime a liberal giver for every good cause and worthy enterprise. His disposal of important portions of his property renders him still and permanently a public benefactor. He bequeathed the greater part of his library, including more than eight thousand volumes, many of them rare and of great value, and ten thousand pamphlets, to the Essex Institute, of which he was president from its foundation till his death. He left a portion of his father's farm, which remained to him unsold in the heart of the city of Lawrence, to a self-perpetuating board of trustees, for the establishment of an annual course of lectures on subjects so defined as to come under the title of Christian ethics in common, daily life, for the purchase of books for the public library, and, if there be any surplus, for its use by the trustees "in such manner as they, in the exercise of a sound judgment and discretion, shall consider best adapted to promote the moral, intellectual, and Christian advancement and instruction of the inhabitants of Lawrence; earnestly requesting the said trustees to bear in mind that the great object

intended to be promoted and accomplished is the education and training of the young in habits of industry, morality, and piety, and in the exercise of true Christian principles, both in thought and action." The funds already obtained by the sale of a part of this property, and the computed salable value of the portion remaining in the hands of the trustees, amount to not less than a hundred thousand dollars.

## CHARLES LOWELL.

1800, D. D. 1823.

FIFTY years ago the now deserted West Church in Lynde Street had probably the largest congregation in Boston, and was the place of worship for a parish of three or four hundred families. When a single sitting became vacant, there were a half-score of applicants for it, and the overflow of the church had filled a new church in Chambers Street, now held by a Roman Catholic congregation. That region had then a very large Protestant population of the highest respectability, and there was no more aristocratic district in the city than the purlieus of Bowdoin Square.<sup>1</sup> Of late years,

<sup>1</sup> At the corner of Green and Chardon streets stood the spacious and elegant house of Samuel Parkman, the ancestor of the large Boston family of that name. The two ample stone-front houses which, on Bowdoin Square, separate Cambridge from Green Street were built for two of his daughters. The Chardon Street Chapel, for a series of years the rallying-point of abnormal religionists and no-religionists of every stripe, was his stable reconstructed; and Rev. Dr. Parkman, who had little tolerance for any type of radicalism, would never call the chapel by any other name than "my mother's barn."



only the rare genius and transcendent worth of Dr. Bartol could have drawn from afar a scanty audience, and it has long been a foregone conclusion that the existence of the society would terminate at the close of his ministry. Of this church Dr. Lowell was pastor for fifty-five years, and sole pastor for thirty-one. At the time of his death, in 1861, the change was going on rapidly, and of the once prosperous churches in the northern and north-western section of Boston, some had been abandoned, all the others depleted, this perhaps the least of all.

Charles Lowell was born in Boston, in 1782. He was the grandson of Rev. John Lowell (H. U. 1721), of Newburyport, and the son of John Lowell (H. U. 1760), Chief Justice of the United States Circuit Court for the First Circuit. His mother was the daughter of Judge James Russell, who belonged to the old and distinguished family of that name in Charlestown. From both ancestral lines the boy had a singularly rich inheritance of ability, refinement, and moral excellence. Fitted for college, in part at Phillips Academy in Andover, in part under private tuition, he entered the Sophomore Class in 1797. On graduating, his desire was to prepare for the ministry; but under strong persuasion he reluctantly entered the law-office of his brother John (H. U. 1786), who had a larger

business than he wanted to retain, and hoped to relinquish a part of it to Charles when he should be admitted to the bar. Charles soon found that his first choice of a profession was his sole choice ; but the year that he spent with his brother was undoubtedly of great service in mental discipline, and in giving him a practical knowledge of men and things, for lack of which a young man who begins to study for the ministry on leaving college is very apt to encounter mortification, rebuff, and failure at the outset of his professional life.

During the succeeding year we have no specific account of young Lowell's pursuits, which of course must have had his coming life-work in view. It was his purpose to educate himself for the ministry, at Edinburgh ; but the fulfillment of this plan was delayed, by his father's death, till the autumn of 1802. At Edinburgh he attended the lectures of Dugald Stewart, and received great personal kindness from him. He enjoyed the intimacy of Thomas Brown, one of the most lovable of men, afterward Stewart's colleague and successor, and maintained a correspondence with him till Brown's death. He attended various courses of lectures out of the line of his profession. His social opportunities in Scotland were of the very best, and in England, beside listening to several of the world-famous parliamentary orators, he had the

great pleasure of forming the acquaintance of Wilberforce, with whose philanthropic spirit he was then and always in close sympathy. After an extended tour on the continent of Europe, he returned to America in 1805, and on the first day of the following year he was ordained pastor of the West Church.

This church was then on the outskirts of the town, in a region, however, toward which population, and of the best kind, was rapidly trending. Forty years earlier there had been a great flocking to the church, though not a large membership, under the ministry of Jonathan Mayhew, the most eloquent preacher in New England, but deemed a heretic by the then existing standard. His successor, Dr. Howard, revered and loved to the utmost, had grown old in the service ; and while none who were under his ministry would have preferred any other, he had ceased to draw young and new members to replace the losses by death and removal. There were less than a hundred families in the parish. But with the new minister's advent there set in a flood-tide of would-be parishioners, so that in less than three months the old church edifice was taken down, and before the close of the year the present spacious building stood in its place. Nor was it long before the entire church, with its broad and capacious gallery on three sides,

was insufficient for those who wanted to become regular attendants on its worship.

I should be wrong in saying that Dr. Lowell was the greatest orator in the Boston pulpit. Buckminster, Everett, Channing, were his coevals, and each of them in his way, and to large numbers of admirers, seemed greater ; and while, of the three, the first was removed before his meridian by death, the second, almost in boyhood, by the demands of the University, Channing has the rare merit of having so far moulded the thought of English-speaking Christians of every name that truths as old as the universe, which were his fresh and startling discoveries, have become the world's property, and the very writings whose boldness amazed the whole community no longer contain anything new or unfamiliar to the ordinary reader. But Dr. Lowell was, even as compared with them, by far the greatest pulpit orator in Boston, and for prompt, continuous, uniform, and intense impression, in behalf of fundamental Christian truth and duty, on persons of all varieties of age, culture, condition, and character, I have never seen or heard his equal, nor can I imagine his superior.

He had for this preëminence every conceivable endowment. In the first place, his whole being seemed interpenetrated, saturated, — if the figure be admissible, — with religious feeling. There was

no sanctimony, or cant, or enthusiasm, but a deep solemnity of speech and manner on all occasions, as if the consciousness of divine verities — often latent where it is never absent — were in him all the time as active as when it was having express utterance in praise or prayer. This pervading sense of the present God had with him no gloom or austerity, but seemed a fountain of sacred joy. It pervaded the entire church service, so that when, in the old style, he announced a hymn, saying, "Let us sing to the praise and glory of God," the intonations of his voice had already attuned the congregation to worship before the first line of the hymn was read ; and he could not name the chapter and verse of the Scripture lesson without making his hearers feel that they were going to listen to the Word of God.

Then in his personal appearance there was a rare blending of majesty and grace. A friend of mine who was at his wedding, and who had afterward seen many men in many lands, told me in his old age that he had never seen so handsome a couple as Charles Lowell and his bride. His countenance had in it so much of benignity that a timid child would readily have climbed his knee ; yet it had in it equally that which would have repelled undue familiarity, and imposed silence on coarseness and irreverence. He had a deep chest-voice, clear,

penetrating, and at the same time sweet and tender, and with an unusual range of inflection and modulation, lending itself with the utmost flexibility to the sentiments to which it gave utterance. With this equipment, it was perfectly evident that his mind and soul were wholly intent on and absorbed in what he said, without taking any heed how he said it, — nature doing for him all the work of consummate oratorical art.

He was not what the world calls a great preacher. I think that he might have been, had such been his aim; but he was so busy in his Master's outside work that his express preparation for the pulpit was by no means elaborate, and probably most of his discourses grew out of his week-day experience. His sermons were plain, earnest, soul-felt, soul-reaching expositions of themes appertaining to man's religious needs and obligations, to the redeeming work of Christ, to the duties and the privileges of the Christian life, and to the retributions of eternity. They were direct appeals to the conscience and the emotional nature. His style, though unstudied, was chaste and pure, because it could not be otherwise. He was too familiar with the best books and the best society not to write with faultless taste and simple elegance. His was a type of rhetoric that neither craved nor needed ornament any more than gold requires gilding. His

sermons were, for his time, phenomenally short, — sometimes less, seldom more, than twenty minutes, on special occasions not exceeding twenty-five; and when he closed he left an appetite for more. In his old age he published two volumes of sermons; but they did him scanty justice. They were written expressly for preaching, and they needed the preacher's eye, mien, and voice. We who remember him can in some measure replace the living man in them; they are therefore to us what they cannot be to those who never knew him.

Dr. Lowell, as I have said, gave comparatively little time to special preparation for the pulpit. The reason was that he undertook an amount of pastoral labor which I have never known to be equaled by any other man, and to exceed which would demand a miraculous lengthening of weeks and days. He not only knew every man, woman, and child in his large parish, but he so made his circuits as to be a stranger in no family; and in every stress of illness or affliction he was as assiduous in attendance as a physician would be in the case of a patient who demanded his daily vigilance. His plan was to make all his visits strictly pastoral, and he never left a house without having uttered the word of Christian warning, counsel, encouragement, or comfort which he thought to be specially needed. I do not say that this was the best way. The min-



ister who watches for the *mollissima fandi tempora*, the fit times for the word in season, will find, if fewer, better opportunities than he can make, and will not encounter the frequently inevitable resiliency of those who expect to be preached to. But he did not think so.

In addition to this vast amount of labor for his own flock, Dr. Lowell was a volunteer missionary in a region of Boston not far from his church, squalid and vicious beyond anything that has been within the knowledge of the generation now on the stage. On the hill that used to rise in a steeper ascent than now from Cambridge toward Beacon Street, in crowded, tumble-down tenements, was a population largely black, with a worse white intermixture, where crime ran riot, and into which no decent person could enter with conscious safety. There was then no ministry at large; but Dr. Lowell accounted these perishing souls as under his charge, and he so won the gratitude and love of many of those miserable people that he was not infrequently summoned in their illnesses and to their death-beds; and he would go on such errands of mercy through drifting snows, and grope his way by night through unlighted lanes and alleys, reeking with peril, alike from foul miasma and from human lawlessness.

After leading this laborious life for twelve years,



Dr. Lowell's health was so visibly impaired that he was obliged to seek relief and restoration in a southern climate. On his return, his friends prevailed upon him to change his house in Boston for a home in the country, and he bought the estate in Cambridge, now well known as the residence of his son, James Russell Lowell. He was still as constant as before in his pastoral work, having an office in Boston, making his daily rounds among his flock, and performing much professional labor beside, but no longer liable to the kind of service which he was no longer able to endure. He suffered but one serious inconvenience from this arrangement. By the then existing law of Massachusetts, he could not marry his own parishioners, a minister's authority in that regard being limited to the town in which he lived. Dr. Lowell, therefore, when he performed the marriage service, was obliged to take with him a justice of the peace, who sanctioned and registered the marriage as his own official act.

In 1837 Dr. Lowell felt the need of prolonged rest and recreation, and Rev. (now Dr.) Cyrus A. Bartol was settled as his colleague in the pastorate, and had its sole charge while his senior made an extended tour, with sojourns at various places of interest, in Europe and Asia. After three years' absence, Dr. Lowell returned to his home and

work, preaching often, and still maintaining his wonted intimacy with the families under his charge. In 1851, he had an attack of paralysis, and was thenceforth disabled for public service; but for each of the ensuing ten years he addressed on the 1st of January, the anniversary of his ordination, a pastoral letter to his flock, full of wise counsel and loving remembrance. For those ten years there was, with his enfeebled health, a failure of mental enterprise and energy; but if there was room for growth, there seemed only an increase, a maturing, a culmination of those higher powers which have their source and their consummation in heaven. Faith was queenly; hope, sight-like; love, supreme. He appeared to have that clear intuition of divine truth, which, I doubt not, in a higher state of being will supersede the logical faculty; for this is but the lantern with which we grope our darkened way, and which we shall no longer need in the clear light of eternity.

Dr. Lowell had some marked peculiarities as a minister. He refused to attach himself to any denomination, or to call himself by any name other than Christian. He was undoubtedly a Unitarian, yet of the more conservative school, and with strong sympathies and intimate relations with ministers and Christians of every name. In some matters of detail he was perhaps over-conservative.

He rather boasted that he had never in his life attended what he called "night-meetings." In 1831 I was at Newburyport at an ordination at which he was the preacher. The old church had just been fitted with lamps, and a service was to be held in the evening. He declined to attend it, and said that, as he stood in the pulpit in the morning, he had wished that he could break those lamps before they were ever lighted. At that time few of the older churches in and about Boston had been lighted ; and his associations with evening worship had been formed by the doings of the more fanatical sects that were under less restraint by night than by day.

Dr. Lowell was an interested and active member of numerous societies, both literary and philanthropic ; among others, an original member of the Massachusetts Peace Society and of the Prison Discipline Society. While he was not a pioneer in movements of social reform, they had his cordial sympathy and ready furtherance. His pity for the colored race was called forth in his very boyhood, and was deepened by his experience in West Boston ; and as the crisis of their destiny drew near, it was easy to foresee, had he lived a few months longer, the enlistment of his ardent sympathy on the side of freedom in the internecine conflict, in which three of his grandsons, who in-

herited in full the noble and lovely traits of his character, gave their lives for their country. He told me, not long before his death, of a correspondence with Mr. Webster after his Seventh of March speech in behalf of the Fugitive-Slave law. He expressed to Mr. Webster his surprise — I think that he said, he certainly meant, indignation — that he should have advocated a law which condemned to fine and imprisonment a man who should simply decline to aid a United States officer in the capture of a fugitive slave. Mr. Webster replied, saying that Dr. Lowell was in the right; that when he made his speech he had not read the law in its details, while he approved of its main intent and purpose; and that he was at the time unaware that it exposed a man to ignominious punishment for declining to do what he had a perfect right, on the ground of conscience, to refuse to do.

Dr. Lowell has his rightful place in these biographical sketches, inasmuch as he was for forty-six years an *ex officio* member of the Board of Overseers, for a short time a member of the Corporation, and always a loving and devoted friend of the College.

## ICHABOD NICHOLS.

1802, D. D. 1831.

ICHABOD NICHOLS, the son of Ichabod and Lydia (Ropes) Nichols, was born in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1784. His parents belonged to old Salem families; but, for reasons connected with their business as merchants, his father and two of his uncles had lived in Portsmouth for several years. In young Ichabod's boyhood they returned to Salem, where he was fitted for college; but he retained through life a kind remembrance of his early playmates, and when, in his later years, he was often at my house, he used to call on such of them as were still living, particularly on the survivor, John, of four brothers Loughton, who were named after the four evangelists.

Young Nichols entered college at the age of fourteen, and graduated with the highest honors of a class which has on its list more names of worthily distinguished men than any other class during the first half of the present century, and which, when I was in college, was constantly referred to among the students as of exceptional

merit and fame. Immediately after graduating, he entered on a course of theological study under the direction of his pastor, Rev. Thomas (afterward Dr.) Barnard (H. U. 1766). In 1805 he was recalled to Cambridge as tutor in mathematics. Professor Farrar had a similar appointment at the same time, and in 1807, when Dr. Webber became President, succeeded him as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. The tradition was that tutors Nichols and Farrar were both — I should wrong them by saying rival — candidates for the professorship. If so, the choice was well made. Neither in the other's place would have attained his preëminence. But Mr. Nichols was probably a born mathematician. Benjamin Peirce was his sister's son, and the uncle was one of the very few whom the nephew did not leave far behind in speculations in which the profoundest science became poetry.

In 1809 Mr. Nichols was ordained as associate pastor with Rev. Dr. Samuel Deane (H. U. 1760) of the First Church in Portland, Maine. Portland was then two days' journey from Cambridge, and until hours instead of miles became the measure of distance, Mr. Nichols could have little immediate connection with his own college. Meanwhile, Bowdoin College, in his near neighborhood, was in its infancy; all its presidents were his friends, the

third his classmate ; and he took a strong interest in its growth and welfare. For forty-two years he was on its Board of Trustees, and for nearly or quite all that time, Vice-President of the Board and of the College. But while he was among the best and most serviceable friends of Bowdoin, he attested his loyalty to Harvard by sending thither his two sons, George Henry Nichols, M. D. (H. U. 1833) and John T. G. Nichols, D. D. (H. U. 1836).

Dr. Nichols's ministry in Portland was in some respects unique. From the very first he attracted to himself by elective affinity the strong minds, the vigorous thinkers, the scholarly men, of Portland, and there can hardly have been a church in New England which had so high an average standard as his, as to the ability and culture of its worshippers. At the same time, the lowly of mind and heart were equally drawn to him by the fervor of his devotional spirit and the warmth of his sympathy. More than twenty years after his death, a man who had been wont to enter, under his guidance, into the profoundest themes of speculation, during his last illness constantly talked of reunion with his former pastor as among the choicest treasures laid up for him in heaven ; while there was never a minister more tenderly beloved than he was, by those incapable of appreciating

anything beyond the power of his goodness. He was among the few of his time who could read German theology and philosophy; for he graduated a quarter of a century before Harvard College had a German teacher. He had more than a superficial acquaintance with many departments of knowledge that are commonly regarded as specialties. One could hardly name a subject in which he seemed less than an adept, a new discovery or theory with which he was not conversant, or a phasis of scientific thought that had not come under his cognizance. All this wealth of attainment and erudition was thoroughly consecrated. The religious element in his nature absorbed and assimilated the whole of it into its own substance. He was devout with all his mind no less than with all his heart. No one ever heard him talk on any topic of history, science, art, or literature without perceiving that its Godward aspects and relations held the foremost place; that he was tracking the footprints or searching out the thought of the Creator; that his meditation on a mathematical law, or a problem in mental philosophy, or a new fact in natural science, or a fine picture, was little else than an act of worship. I have never known any other person who seemed so constantly filled, energized, and uplifted by vast and glowing views of the Divine majesty, wisdom, and love. I often



heard him talk on some topic of what is called secular learning, when I felt as if I were listening to a grand cathedral anthem, every note laden with adoration.

As a preacher, Dr. Nichols required, as he richly rewarded, unremitted attention, so full were his sermons of condensed thought and closely riveted chains of argument. In the weight and depth of his sermons, in his range of subjects and illustrations, in his mastery of fitting words, in his command of vivid imagery, in his capacity of rousing the mind to vigorous action, and of furthering simultaneously the intellectual and the spiritual culture of the ingenuous and truth-loving, he can have had few equals, hardly a superior. His style used to remind me of St. Paul's, in its fusing cogent logic in the flames of ardent piety, in its vitalizing argument by appeal to the conscience, in its aiming with the same stroke at the intellect and the affections, and also in those wonderful digressions in which the main subject is not departed from, but opened out into new and unexpected bearings and relations, — in fine, less digressions than forays into a rich country, from which one returns laden with its spoils.

A popular preacher in any sense of the word he was not and could not have been. But he could not have been established in any community with-

out gathering into his flock the best and most recipient minds and souls within reach of his voice whose sectarian affinities did not fasten them elsewhere. He was seldom heard except in his own pulpit, oftener in my church in Portsmouth than in any other but his own ; for he was a very intimate friend of my predecessor, and kindly admitted me to a like intimacy. But he not only did not seek, he rather shunned, opportunities for appearing where he was not well known. With a commanding presence and no lack of self-possession there seemed to be in him something akin to the shrinking diffidence which dreads all needless publicity.

The traits that characterized his sermons pervaded his conversation. But for the concurrent testimony of many who bore witness with me, few of whom, however, are still living, I should deem myself extravagant in saying that he was the most eloquent talker that I ever knew, yet without the slightest intention or consciousness of being so. Whatever subject was suggested, he seemed to chance upon some aspect of it that flashed luminously on his imagination, his speculative faculty, or his religious feeling, more probably than not, on all three together ; and he would start upon a monologue in a low tone, his voice rising, his eye kindling, his face glowing more and more as he sounded the depth or scaled the height of the

theme in hand, till at length he would pause abruptly, and make his meek apology for having done precisely what we wanted him to do, — for having usurped more than his share of the conversation. Evenings with him were epochs in my intellectual life. I considered such a privilege cheaply purchased by a twice fifty miles of tedious stage-coach travel. Some years after his death, I wrote for the American edition of Smith's Dictionary of the Bible a somewhat elaborate article on St. Paul, the materials of which, though fairly my own, I could consciously trace to one of his grand talks about the great Apostle, who still bears in my mind the traits which were then so delineated that I could almost see his face and hear his voice. I am inclined to think that a great deal of thought that has done good service in the pulpit and through the press emanated from that same source.

Dr. Nichols published very little, and he was so severe a critic of his own writings that his manuscripts, by virtue of manifold revision and alteration, became legible with difficulty by any other eye than his own. His life-work was "Hours with the Evangelists," completed just before his death, and published in the following year, in two octavo volumes. It is a work of great critical value, rhetorical beauty, and religious fervor. A large

part of it, when written, was far in advance of the thought of his time, which in his spoken words he had helped to shape. Had it been published, when but for his fastidious taste and unfeigned modesty it would have seen the light, it would have performed invaluable service toward the progress of a biblical criticism equally sound and reverent. To us who heard him talk, it vividly recalls "hours with the evangelists," in which he was their seer-like interpreter, we rapt listeners.

In 1855, Dr. Nichols, while retaining his title as senior pastor, on the ground of advancing years and impaired health resigned the active duties of his parish, and removed to Cambridge. But his heart was still with the people of his charge, and in their seasons of trial and sorrow he sent them letters full of the consolation flowing from the depths of his own soul. These letters are still preserved, copied, and circulated, as inestimably precious. They were unpremeditated, the genuine outflow of his devout and loving heart, written just as he would have talked and was wont to talk, and in reading them his friends seem to hear again the voice which they so loved to hear. The following is one of them, which I copy entire, as redolent of the spiritual atmosphere in which he lived. It was written close under the shadow of death, at a time of physical exhaustion and suffering, when he could

hardly lift his hand, and when his sympathy with his afflicted friends alone gave him strength to put pen to paper.

CAMBRIDGE, *September 7, 1858.*

MY DEAR FRIENDS, — I have heard of your great affliction, and permit me to intrude into the circle of your sorrows with the sincerest condolence. It is so short a time since you were sending me flowers, in your kind sympathy with me in my illness, and now a sudden storm has fallen upon the garden of your life, and laid low a flower so dear to you in a beloved, honored, and most valued son. 'T is like a crash out of a clear sky. It brings to my mind a passage in the Gospels, "The people said that it thundered; others said, An angel spake to him." It was the voice that said to Jesus when he prayed, "Save me from this hour; Father, glorify thy name," — "I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again." God has glorified his goodness, my dear friends, in the dear son he gave you, and in many other blessings in which he has favored you, and shall I not believe that he is disposed to glorify it again, and means to glorify it again, in the bereavement to which he has called you? I know full well what public sympathy is uttering over so great an affliction as you have experienced. It is like a multitude gathered around an edifice on which a burst of thunder has left its desolating stroke. They speak of it as such, and feel accordingly. But do they hear falsely, my dear friends, who say that an angel has spoken to them? I believe that

it is a voice which whispers to you: — “That lightning has two offices. It comes to you with a desolation. It strikes to the ground your dear earthly joy. But it will return out of those depths of your soul into which it has cut its way as the natural lightning returns out of the ground in the green carpet of the fields, in the blooming flowers of the garden, and the lofty trees which aspire to the skies.”

God’s apparent evil is the measure of God’s intended good. The most destructive agent in the material world is the most beneficent. So may it prove to you, my friends. So may you find that you are in the hands of a wonderful mercy that knows how to deduce good from evil as none but God can do. More and more I find myself believing in a double nature in ourselves, — the nature that feels the outward Providence of life and the nature that feels the inward Providence of life; and these Providences often seem contrary, the one to the other. One surrounds us with lovely children, and spreads around us whatever is grateful to the eye and senses. The other calls forth the interior powers of the soul, develops the wonders of a pious trust and self-surrendering to God, and often clears away the outward blessings to substitute its own in their place. God bless you in this interior Providence in full proportion to the affliction which he has laid upon you in the other. Believe, my dear friends, in his omnipotent love. And may the hour be at hand when you shall say, “How great is his power and how marvelous are his ways! Who would have thought that after such a crash I could

have recovered? But in the mysteries of God's spirit I have more than recovered. I seem to myself to have been like a vessel filled with some precious perfume; but because the vessel was unbroken I did not perceive it. But the vessel has fallen to the ground, and lo! I am surrounded with the fragrance."

I commend you to Him who loveth you, and who will hear you, and out of sorrow bring forth faith, and trust, and peace, and love.

Your affectionate friend and pastor,

I. NICHOLS.

In Cambridge Dr. Nichols enjoyed the renewal of old associations and friendships, though he was too feeble to bear any active part in the life of the University or of surrounding society. His last illness was long, and attended with severe suffering; but, except at rare and brief intervals, his mind retained undiminished vigor. It was but a few days before his death that he spoke of the consciousness of a spiritual nature entire in all its powers, affections, and memories, while its bodily tenement was so wasted and shattered, as to him a fresh and glorious confirmation of the soul's independence of things seen and its essential immortality. On the Christmas morning of 1858, eight days before his death, though unable to rise from his bed, he conducted family worship, and those present felt as if he were already within the golden

gates and were calling them in. He delighted to have pictures of the Saviour about his bed, and above all others he preferred Titian's picture of Christ with the Tribute-Money, as presenting Christ's keen insight and infallible wisdom in human affairs together with his spiritual elevation and benignity. He not unaptly chose this figure as the frontispiece for the first volume of the "Hours with the Evangelists," an engraving from an excellent portrait of the author being prefixed to the second volume.

After Dr. Nichols's death, some of his friends printed a little volume entitled "Remembered Words from the Sermons of Rev. I. Nichols." The book consists of sentences and short passages written from memory by various members of his Portland congregation, and they are among the purest and richest gems of sacred thought and religious sentiment ever treasured from a preacher's lips. Our only regret is that we may not see them in their setting, which can have been hardly less beautiful.



## JAMES WALKER.

1814, D. D. 1835, LL. D. 1860.

JAMES WALKER was born in 1794, at Woburn, in a precinct of that town which, largely through his father's influence, was incorporated as a separate municipality under the name of Burlington, in 1799. He belonged to a family which has produced many men who have held high places in professional and public life, — among others, Rev. Timothy Walker (H. U. 1725), the first minister of Concord, N. H.; William J. Walker (H. U. 1810), eminent as a physician and surgeon; Sears Cook Walker (H. U. 1825), second in reputation to no American astronomer of his time; and my classmate, Timothy Walker (H. U. 1826), distinguished at the bar and on the bench of Ohio. The father of James was John Walker, who in 1798 received from the elder President Adams a commission as Major-General, with a view to active service in the then apprehended war with France. His mother was a descendant of Edward Johnson, the author of the "Wonder-Working Providence." General Walker was an innholder,

as were at that time many leading men in church and state. James was in his boyhood devoted to study, and was on that account relieved from such services as he would otherwise have been expected to render, and was called from his books only on rare occasions, when a trusty rather than a skillful hand was required; the tradition being that there were keys that gave access to choice liquors, which James could draw without tasting. Though the family were in comfortable circumstances, there was little money to spare; and the education of James demanded of both father and son rigid economy, which was the son's habit through life as regarded his own personal expenses, though not as to the proprieties of his situation or the claims of charity. He was fitted for college in the Groton Academy. He graduated the second scholar of his class. After leaving college he spent a year as assistant teacher in Phillips Exeter Academy. Returning to Cambridge for the study of his profession, he was one of the five young men, all of the college class of 1814, who formed the first graduating class in the Divinity School as a distinct department of the University. In 1818 he received and accepted an invitation to the pastorate of the Second Congregational (now the Harvard) Church in Charlestown, of which his kinsman, Hon. Timothy Walker, was one of the founders and benefactors.

This church was at the time of Mr. Walker's settlement less than two years old. It had been formed by seceders from the First Church, who dissented from the rigid orthodoxy of its pastor and its creed. The first minister of the new society, a man of the richest promise, had died after a pastorate of little more than six months. Its place of worship was a disused Baptist church ; but its rapid increase and growing prosperity led to the building, in 1819, of the large and costly edifice which it still occupies. This proved to be none too large for the worshippers, who were drawn thither in part by their liberal opinions in theology, in greater part by the prestige of the new minister's rising reputation.

It was war-time in the Congregational churches of Massachusetts. Many of the old churches had undergone or were undergoing disruption. The orthodoxy of those who professed adherence to the old faith, though really progressive, was regarded as retrogressive ; for the then prevailing Hopkinsianism seemed an exaggeration of the Calvinism which it was in fact undermining and disintegrating. Unitarianism, though incapable of hurling anathemas, supplied the lack of them to its utmost ability ; and if there was no love lost in the conflict, it was because there was none to be lost. The new Charlestown minister entered earnestly into the

fight. His sermon at the dedication of his church was a vigorous defense of Unitarians against the aspersions of their opponents. He was often sought elsewhere, at ordinations and on other public occasions, for like service, and in the earlier years of his ministry he would have been named as foremost among the belligerents of his party. Indeed, if among them, he could not but have been foremost ; for his unfailing capacity of putting the right word in the right place and condensing all the meaning that it could hold in every separate sentence, and his unsurpassed power of intense emphasis and impressive utterance, were hardly less characteristic of his youth than of his prime. I used to hear him preach not infrequently in Beverly in my boyhood, and I am sure that in the traits which long afterward made his sermons in the College Chapel memorable, he was in that early time unequalled.

Those who were familiar only with Dr. Walker's later years may be amazed by this militant phasis of his character. They knew him as singularly non-combatant in his habits, — as at peace with all the world, and all the world with him. Still, I doubt whether the seeming contrast was real. I think that he fought for the peace which he won, and flung away his weapons when there was no longer need of them. I doubt whether he ever wanted or meant to do battle for his opinions ; for

from the first he occupied too high a ground not to know and feel that the fundamental truths of religion and of Christianity may and must be beheld, received, and stated by minds of different mould in different forms, and that it is only by a wide diversity of mode and phrase that they can be of equally vital worth and efficacy to persons of unlike capacity, traditions, and culture. While he never ceased, so long as he could stand in the pulpit, to be a preacher of evangelic righteousness and piety, I do not believe that he ever began to be, or had the heart to be, a sectarian propagandist. What he contended for was liberty of opinion and of unmolested utterance and profession, the reputation of those with whom he was associated as honest, sincere, and devout men, and their right to the Christian name, to a place in the Christian Church, and to the hope of the Christian salvation. When these were no longer denied by the leading and strong men of the adverse party, he was glad to quit the field, and to leave the paltry warfare that remained to the pygmies with lath swords, who still keep it up on both sides in (so-called) religious newspapers.

While thus identified with the controversy which agitated the whole community, Dr. Walker devoted his energy chiefly to his own flock, in sermons into which he put equally his whole mind and his whole

soul, in a watchful, kind, and sympathetic pastorate, and in the initiation and guidance of various parochial organizations for religious instruction, mental improvement, and systematic charity. For twenty-one years he continued to grow, if there remained at the last room for growth, in the dearest regard of his parishioners, and in the respect and confidence of the surrounding public.

For eight years of this time Dr. Walker added to his other labors the editorship of the "Christian Examiner," for most of the time with the coöperation of Rev. Dr. Greenwood. In his editorship he made a broad departure from established custom. It had been, and long afterward continued to be, the custom for periodicals that assumed the dignity of reviews to admit only such articles as could be adopted and sanctioned by the editorial *we*, so that the same review never presented both sides of a question as stated by their respective advocates. Dr. Walker set the example of publishing articles adverse to his own opinions. My earliest personal relation with him was as a contributor to the "Examiner." Early in 1833, when I was a tutor in college, he admitted an article of mine, as he told me, in direct opposition to his view of its subject. A few months later, I offered him a paper on "The Third Article of the Bill of Rights" in the Constitution of Massachusetts, which pro-

vided for the legal support of public worship. There was a strong, and, as it proved, an effectual movement for its repeal. The Congregational clergymen of both parties were generally in favor of its retention, and I thought and felt with them. Drs. Walker and Greenwood were both opposed to it. Dr. Walker, however, accepted my article without a moment's hesitation, and published with it an article of his own, taking the opposite ground; prefixing to mine the statement, "Truth and justice require that the argument of those who oppose the amendment should be understood, and not misrepresented." I have recently recurred to the discussion, and, with all my respect for his superior power of reasoning, I regard mine as the best argument, his as the right side; and in practical matters he had a rare clairvoyance, so that he first saw the right intuitively, and then reasoned up to it.

While thus busy in his parish and in literary work, Dr. Walker was renewing, step by step, his relations with the College. In 1825 he was chosen one of the Overseers. In 1834 he became a member of the Corporation, and so continued till his retirement from office in 1860. In 1838 he accepted the Alford Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity, from which, in 1853, he passed to the presidency. It

was said that at each of the two previous elections of President he was the preferred candidate, but was unwilling to be chosen, and that he finally accepted the office because the only alternative would have been the election of a professor many years his junior.

In the class-room Dr. Walker united dignity without severity and kindness without weakness, requiring faithful work, yet lenient to occasional failure or deficiency. The students resorted to him for counsel and sympathy, and felt in every right purpose and endeavor, especially in self-restoration from wrong courses or habits, the strong support of his massive mind and character. Recitation was then the chief college work, and he performed his part as a lesson-hearer with the utmost fidelity, and at the same time, in single weighty sentences of his own, interspersed along the lesson of the day, often contrived to stow meaning which, if thinly spread, might have covered several pages of a lecture. He also performed valuable service in editing for class use, with notes original and selected, Dugald Stewart's and Reid's manuals of mental philosophy.

In the presidential office, Dr. Walker's mere presence was a power, alike on public occasions and at meetings of the Faculty. On all matters appertaining to the courses of study, the choice of in-



structors, and the management of affairs, whether strictly academic or secular, his advice, while in form mere counsel, had in its self-evidencing wisdom the authority of imperative command. His influence on the students, collectively and individually, was intensely stimulating to industry, ambition, high moral resolve, and religious purpose, and there were and still are many who regard their having been in college under his presidency as a ground for lifelong gratitude. At the same time, in what is commonly called college discipline he was, as judged by the preëstablished standard, lax, irresolute, and dilatory. Not improbably this was because he had outgrown the preëstablished standard. College laws and rules were at that time needlessly rigid, and irrespective of the moral distinctions that should have been first of all recognized. An irreverent word to an intrusive proctor, who might himself have been in the wrong, was punished with a severity befitting an absolutely vicious act. The omission of a necktie in the early darkness of morning prayers incurred for the offender an admonition from the chairman of the parietal board; the throwing of a snowball was reported to the Faculty; the question was raised whether the making of a snowball without throwing it did not deserve censure; and the blowing of a horn was a capital crime. The best way

of securing the abolition of this absurd code would have been to execute it with unsparing fidelity. This method Mr. Everett tried during his three years of presidency, and had they been three times three, he would have inevitably hastened by a score of years the present condition of things, in which petty offenses have disappeared, because the students are left to their own instincts as gentlemen, and are no longer reminded by college laws of unseemly things which, while unprohibited, they would never think of doing. I have no doubt that Presidents Sparks and Walker found themselves equally unwilling to ignore and reluctant to carry into execution a system which had nothing save its antiquity to recommend it. But, however this may have been, Dr. Walker lacked the qualities of a strict disciplinarian.

Dr. Walker's great work in college, both as Professor and as President, was his preaching. His sermons were unsurpassed in directness and impressiveness. They were, for the most part, on those great truths and laws of religion, Christianity and moral right, which are generally admitted to be undeniable, and therefore as generally ignored. He had the rare faculty of making his hearers feel as if these eternal verities were a fresh revelation. It was his wont, not infrequently, to select for his subject some principle so obvious as to be doubted

by none, yet so familiar as to have lost its place in men's serious regard; to state it in a paradoxical form, so as to draw attention to it as to what had never been heard before; to vitalize it with all the energy of his profound thought and earnest feeling; and thus to deposit it as a moral force thenceforth constant and efficient in the hearts and lives of his receptive hearers. Ethical preaching like his was heard from no one else in his generation. Very many there were who owed to him the sovereignty of law and right over their whole lives, and there were many of his sermons which were rehearsed from memory years and years afterward, as having created epochs in the moral history of their listeners.

While I thus speak of Dr. Walker's uniform, manifold, and evidently heartfelt and heartfull utterance on those great themes that underlie human well-being for time and for eternity, I ought not to omit mention of what seemed his intended and studied neutrality and non-committal on such subjects in religion, ethics, philosophy, politics, and practical life as divide the opinion of honest, right-minded, well-disposed Christian men. He was far enough from being double-tongued. He could not be equally claimed on either side, but he seemed to be on neither side, of mooted questions of all kinds. A friend of mine, learning that he was

going to preach at King's Chapel, on a Thanksgiving Day, on Popular Amusements, went to hear him, with a special desire to know what he thought of the theatre, which in Boston was then just coming from evil into fair repute. His report was that he heard from Dr. Walker more in favor of the theatre than he had ever imagined, and more against it than he had ever known, but that it was impossible to ascertain from the sermon whether the preacher approved or condemned theatre-going. This anecdote represents the attitude which he maintained as to disputed measures of social reform, as to political questions that from time to time occupied the public mind, as to matters of religious discussion in which it seemed hardly possible that he should not bear a part, and equally, according to the testimony of those who heard his Lowell Lectures, as to the dogmas and postulates of opposing schools of philosophy. Such was the undoubted fact; the reason why it is not easy to determine. It could not have been from any self-ward motive; for he knew too well how high he stood in the public regard, to imagine that his clear expression of any opinion which it would be possible for him to entertain could do him harm. But he must have been aware of the weight of his influence in behalf of unquestionable truth and right, and he may have been unwilling to impair it

by seeming a partisan in anything that could be questioned among good men. Or he may, on these debatable subjects, have deemed it his duty as a public teacher to furnish intelligent hearers with the materials for forming their own opinions, without putting into one of the scales a weight which with many minds would have been what the foot of the fraudulent ship-factor used to be when employed as a makeweight in traffic with the natives of Sumatra or Ceylon. Or it is not impossible that, with his calm, dispassionate, far-seeing, and deep-seeing mind he had a much clearer view of both sides of a doubtful question than was consistent with a prompt and positive decision on either side. But while it was impossible to obtain his expression of opinion on transient or secondary questions, he never failed to give full and cogent utterance to essential truths and to the eternal right.

Dr. Walker resigned the presidency in the meridian of his mental power, and with no physical infirmity except a chronic lameness that had long rendered locomotion difficult and painful. After his resignation he appeared seldom in the pulpit or in public ; but whenever he consented to preach or speak, it was with unabated energy of mind and utterance. In 1864 he returned to the service of the College as a member of the Board of Overseers, and gave to it six years of wise counsel,

holding a place as chairman or member of important committees. His last years were passed serenely and happily, in the enjoyment of books and friends, with a calm outlook into the unexplored future, and with the firm religious faith and trust that had inspired and framed his life-work. He died in 1874.

Dr. Walker's University Sermons are a precious and as yet the only enduring monument to his memory. They are still read with unflagging interest by those who can recall with them his voice and manner; and they will, I think, be read with delight and profit by a coming generation that will know him only by the record of his life. He published many occasional sermons, of equal merit, but of limited circulation. His articles in periodicals, especially in the "*Christian Examiner*," were very numerous, and were always written with such care and thoroughness as their subjects demanded. Many of them, if collected, would be of permanent value. His Lowell Lectures, which it is understood are to be published at no great distance of time, will doubtless do ample justice to him as a faithful student and an able teacher of the philosophy of mind, and cannot fail of an honored place in the literature of his own special department.

## JARED SPARKS.

1815, LL. D. 1843.

JARED SPARKS was born in 1789, in Willington, Conn., in humble life, and with no kindred who could be efficient helpers in a career like that which he opened by his own merit and ability. A part of his boyhood was spent in Washington County, N. Y., under the charge of an aunt. Till his twentieth year his school life had amounted in the whole to forty months; but he must have done a great deal for his own education, inasmuch as he was at that time found competent to take charge of a district school in a town near his native place. Meanwhile, he had been learning the trade of a carpenter, though with the determination still to avail himself of all possible means of progress in science and literature. With this purpose, when he closed his school in the spring of 1809, he put himself under the tuition of Rev. Hubbell Loomis, the clergyman of Willington, and shingled his barn in part payment. This Mr. Loomis subsequently became a Baptist, and was the first President of Shurtleff College in Alton, Ill. He lived to a great

age. I was in Alton in 1862, and was able to bring to Mr. Sparks a second-hand account of his condition; and after my return home I greatly regretted that I had not called on him, so warm were Mr. Sparks's expressions of gratitude for his kindness. Indeed, he never forgot a benefactor, and loved to recall the straitnesses of his early years, not in self-congratulation for his own success in life, but in thankful and loving remembrance of those who had helped him on his way.

Young Sparks's chief aim was to obtain instruction in mathematics, which was at once his preferred branch of study and that in which the country schoolmasters of those days took special pride. But he commenced at the same time the study of Latin, and in connection with this occurred an incident which gave direction and shape to his whole coming life. Rev. Abiel Abbot (H. U. 1787, D. D. 1838), then of Coventry, the cousin and brother-in-law of Dr. Benjamin Abbot (H. U. 1788), the preceptor of Phillips Exeter Academy, made one morning a call on Mr. Loomis, his clerical neighbor and friend. Mr. Loomis told him of the remarkable young carpenter then at work on his barn. Mr. Abbot, having been a classical tutor at Cambridge, was interested in the story, and it was proposed between them that Sparks should be summoned to the study to construe a passage in



Virgil. Mr. Abbot, as an expert, saw at once in the carpenter the making of a scholar, and proposed to write to his kinsman at Exeter to bespeak for Sparks a place on the beneficiary list of the academy.<sup>1</sup> The application was successful, and at the beginning of the autumn term Sparks made his appearance at Exeter, having walked the entire distance from Willington, one hundred and twenty miles, in four days. As for his worldly goods, they were all packed in a small trunk, of which Mr. Abbot, who was going with his wife to make a visit at Exeter, took charge, appending it to the axle of his chaise. Dr. Abbot ever afterwards shared with Mr. Loomis the place of foremost benefactor in Mr. Sparks's memory. In his late old age he came to live with his grandson, at Arlington, and Mr. Sparks thenceforward was in the habit of visiting him, making Arlington the frequent terminus of his drives from Cambridge.

<sup>1</sup> The founder of this academy, John Phillips (H. U. 1735), established, with the endowment for the support of teachers, a beneficiary fund, the earliest of the kind, it is believed, in this country, and probably now the largest such fund belonging to any institution of learning except Harvard College. The catalogue of Exeter beneficiaries is eminently a roll of honor, comprising the names of a marvelous number of presidents of colleges, foreign ministers, heads of departments in our national government, distinguished divines, and, beside Mr. Sparks, several of the most valued contributors to our historical literature.

In 1811 Mr. Sparks entered college, and his life-record during the ensuing four years evinces at once the robust strength of body to which manual labor must have largely contributed, the strenuousness of purpose which could surmount obstacles that might have blocked his path, and the vigorous mental fibre which made him master of his opportunities, and gave ample promise of the eminence which he ultimately attained. Without suspending or omitting any part of the college work, he contributed to his own support by teaching in country schools, and in a private family in Maryland. He also received generous aid, as well as assurances of esteem and sympathy, from President Kirkland, whom he always named as third among his benefactors. Notwithstanding the drawbacks and interruptions due to his lack of the means of self-support, he held a high rank in his class, and was the first scholar in mathematics, — a department which then formed a very large proportion of the college curriculum. In his Senior year he obtained a Bowdoin prize for a Dissertation on the Physical Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, which for its accuracy and thoroughness was deemed a very remarkable essay, and left a longer memory in Cambridge than is wont to follow any college performance.

Among Mr. Sparks's engagements as a teacher

while in college was one at Bolton, adjoining Lancaster, and this led to his being invited, on graduating, by gentlemen in these two towns, to take charge of a private school in Lancaster. Chief in this movement was Rev. Nathaniel Thayer (H. U. 1789, D. D. 1817), sole minister of Lancaster, whose sons became Mr. Sparks's pupils. He was intimate in Mr. Thayer's family, and commenced under his tuition his studies for the ministry, with his wonted industry doing double work, and preparing himself after two years to enter the senior class in the Divinity School. He remained at Lancaster till, in 1817, he was recalled to Cambridge as tutor in mathematics. This office he resigned early in the second year, to accept an invitation to become the first minister of the Unitarian Church in Baltimore.

Mr. Sparks's pastorate lasted little more than four years, and during part of that time he officiated as Chaplain of the House of Representatives at Washington. His ministry was successful for all concerned, himself alone excepted. He found himself debilitated by the climate, and could not contentedly remain where he could not put his full strength into his work. His parish multiplied and prospered under his ministry. I have been much in Baltimore, and in my earlier visits there I used to see those who had been under his pastorate ; and

though of these hardly any remain, it is not too much to say that his memory is still fresh. He so won the respect of his flock by his acknowledged ability, and so endeared himself to young and old in every home, that his name is a cherished tradition with a generation that never saw his face; while, on his part, his affectionate interest in the families that had been under his charge seemed unabated with the lapse of years.

While in Baltimore Mr. Sparks had started and conducted a monthly periodical entitled the "Unitarian Miscellany," had published certain controversial writings in defense of his own position and that of his church, and had commenced the publication of a serial collection of "Essays and Tracts in Theology," not controversial or denominational, but presenting the best thought and the most edifying religious sentiment of various divines, from Jeremy Taylor down to the close of the last century. He had also entered into negotiations for the purchase of the "North American Review," the editorship of which he assumed on his return to Boston in 1824. In the six years during which he had it in charge, he nearly doubled its estimated pecuniary value, as appeared by the terms on which he sold it to Alexander H. Everett, whose brother Edward had preceded Mr. Sparks as editor. From 1824 till his death in 1866, Mr. Sparks's

home was in Boston or Cambridge, chiefly, and after 1832 wholly in Cambridge, with several prolonged periods of European travel and sojourn.

For the first thirty years of this period, Mr. Sparks's literary labor and its fruits would alone require a much longer memoir than my limits of space will permit me to give. I regret this the less, as a detailed and full biography, with selections from his correspondence, is now in the press.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that the *Life and Writings of Washington* in twelve and of *Franklin* in ten large octavos are but a small part of the contributions to American history and biography made by him or under his editorship; that his works secure for him unchallenged the first place in that department; that he suffered nothing to go from his hands that had not such of his own personal supervision as it needed; and that his mode of editorship was conformed to the best methods and examples of his time.

I became acquainted with him in 1833, when he commenced housekeeping with his first wife, in the house occupied by Washington while he was

<sup>1</sup> This work is approaching completion under the skilled charge of Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D., of Johns Hopkins University, as author and editor. It will give to the public, in the correspondence, a large amount of historical matter of permanent value.

in command at Cambridge, then owned by Mrs. Craigie, subsequently owned and occupied by Mr. Longfellow. His friend Willard Phillips (H. U. 1811, LL. D. 1853), then recently married, had rooms in the same house. At that time, though my acquaintance with Mr. Sparks was by no means intimate, I am sure that I should have wanted to make it so, had I not left Cambridge two or three months after I first saw him. My impression of him then was of massive strength of character, of the most genial kindness, and of an encyclopædic knowledge on every possible subject of conversation.

Of course the University could not but covet a man so well fitted for its service. In 1836 he received and declined the offer of the Alford Professorship, which two years later Dr. Walker accepted. He was probably wise in declining this office. Before and after that time, he had on three different occasions the offer of political honors, which were more truly honors then than now. He was repeatedly solicited to accept a nomination, which would have been equivalent to an election, as a member of Congress for the Middlesex district. In 1838, he was chosen McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History. He accepted the office on condition that he should be bound by no routine of class-work, but should lecture at such

times and on such subjects as might seem to him expedient, and should direct the historical researches of such students as might desire his aid. He was the first professor in that department, which had been sadly neglected, but to which he gave vitality and interest, thus preparing the way for its efficient organization under his successor.

When, in 1849, Mr. Everett resigned the presidency of the College, Mr. Sparks was chosen to it, not only by the votes of the governing boards, but equally at the demand and with the acclamation of the graduates and friends of the University. His administration was characteristic of the man. He was rigidly exact and thorough in all matters of business, and in whatever of the college work demanded record and numerical estimates, especially as to such returns as indicated the academic status of the individual students. He was firm and strenuous in all matters in which principle was involved. Toward the students he was never weakly lenient, but disposed to judge their faults and delinquencies less by any traditional standard than by that of common sense and judicious kindness. He was inflexibly just, but regarded mercy as an essential element of justice. He took the most generous interest in poor students. He manifested not only a willingness to render all the material aid in his power, but a genuine and warm fellow-feeling

with those who were repeating his own early experience. Where no important interest was at issue, he yielded promptly and courteously to the opinions and wishes of the Faculty, deeming it fitting and right that those who had charge of the details of college work and government should have their own choice of times and ways; but wherever the welfare or honor of the College or of its individual members was concerned, he adhered immovably to his own judgment. A case in point occurred when Kossuth was making his progress through the country. Mr. Sparks was one of the few who were disinclined to pay him homage. The then usual spring exhibition, normally held in the College Chapel, was at hand, and it was understood that Kossuth would be present. The Faculty voted unanimously, or nearly so, to hold this exhibition where the Commencements were held, in the First Parish Church. Mr. Sparks declared the vote, but added, "It is for you, gentlemen, to hold the exhibition where you please. I shall go to the chapel in my cap and gown, at the usual hour." The vote, of course, was reconsidered.

Mr. Sparks's term of office was brief. Though not an invalid, he was evidently wearied with such an amount of arduous intellectual labor as hardly any other man has ever performed in the same number of years, and he needed the rest that he



had earned. He had also met with an accident which so lamed his right arm as to render pen-work for a time impossible, and long afterward difficult and painful. He resigned the presidency in 1853.

I came to Cambridge in 1860, and among the first to welcome me and the most assiduous in all offices of kindness was Mr. Sparks. We were neighbors, and I saw him very often. He had seats at the College Chapel, and as a constant attendant at public worship was nominally under my pastoral charge, though in my consciousness the relation was reversed, and in my new duties I had the aid of his valuable counsel, made doubly precious by his minute knowledge of the ground on which I had been a stranger for more than a quarter of a century. He and I were often fellow-guests of the Wednesday Evening Club in Boston, and we almost always went and returned together, while the difference of our ages was such that I regarded myself — I know not whether he so regarded me — as his escort and care-taker. In these later years of his life he enjoyed books, friends, and society, and still maintained a somewhat extended correspondence. He took a lively interest in current events, though in conversation he dwelt oftener on the past, whether of his own life, or of the many lives which had been indebted to him for their record.

Always as much loved as honored, Mr. Sparks was never dearer to those of the more intimate or of the larger circle than when his time for leaving them drew near; and in merely casual intercourse with strangers he impressed them profoundly with the unostentatious beauty of his spirit and character. He never missed an opportunity for a kind word or deed. The last time that I saw him out-of-doors he was carrying a large bundle, I believe, of clothes for or from the washing, and a shabbily dressed little girl was chatting merrily at his side. I learned on inquiry that he saw the child tottering under a burden which he thought too heavy for her, and so he was carrying it in her stead. I name this not as a trivial incident, but as typical of his whole life-way in great things as in small. There never was a time when it would not have been his joy to relieve the over-weighted burden-bearer. Two or three evenings after this I was with him at a small party, at which he appeared in his usual health. He returned home greatly chilled, and the next morning his physician found him suffering from pneumonia. He survived but a week. His illness seemed so entirely painless, and he was so serene and cheerful, that, had he been a younger man, we should have expected his recovery. His release was as peaceful as his life and spirit had been.

## SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT.

1817.

FOR considerably more than a century the name of Eliot has been, without intermission, intimately associated with Harvard College, by benefactions and services. Rev. Andrew Eliot (H. U. 1737), minister of the New North Church in Boston, was a member of the Corporation for thirteen years, and declined being a candidate for the presidency only because he was unwilling to leave his church. After Dr. Mayhew's death he was the special correspondent of Thomas Hollis, and the medium of his frequent and various gifts to the College. His son Andrew (H. U. 1762) was butler when Harvard Hall was burned, and lost the little capital which he had there invested on his own account. He was at that time also librarian, and afterward a tutor and a member of the Corporation. Andrew's brother John (H. U. 1772), who succeeded his father in the New North Church, was also an active and influential member of the Corporation. Samuel Eliot, the cousin of the younger Andrew and John, was the founder of the Professorship of

the Greek Language and Literature, filled successively by Professors Everett, Popkin, Felton, and Goodwin. Though his name was not made known, even to the college boards, in connection with this endowment till after his death, it was understood by his family to be a memorial tribute to his eldest son, Charles (H. U. 1809), a young man of the richest promise, who died in 1813, just as he was entering on the duties of the Christian ministry. His second son, William Havard (H. U. 1815), was a generous benefactor of the College, and a man worthily respected and beloved, who had so identified himself with the best interests of the community that his early death was mourned as a public loss.<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Atkins, the third son of Samuel Eliot, was born in Boston, in 1798. In due time he followed his older brothers to college, and after an honorable college course, in accordance with his father's special desire he entered the Divinity School, from which he graduated in 1820. His father's death, early in that year, may have had

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Eliot (H. U. 1839, LL. D. 1880), who, as a scholar, as a writer, as an educator, as the President of one of our New England colleges, holds a foremost place among the men of his time, and yet is still better known for his wise, assiduous, and self-sacrificing services in various departments of Christian philanthropy, is the son of William Havard.

some influence in changing his plans of life ; and there was also at the time some transient bronchial affection that may have kept him out of the pulpit. Whatever was the reason, he never preached. His first two years after leaving Cambridge were devoted to study, chiefly of the languages and literature of continental Europe ; and he then spent three years in Europe, still for the most part engaged in study. He inherited from his father a moderate fortune, which was largely increased by his marriage, in 1826, with a daughter of the elder Theodore Lyman.

Relieved as Mr. Eliot thus was from the necessity of providing by professional labor for the subsistence of his family, his previous habits seemed to point to a life of refined and scholarly ease ; but he became in the highest and best sense the servant of the public, and no man ever filled that place with more faithful industry, with more entire disinterestedness, and with more utter absence of all selfward considerations. His brother William had preceded him in this career, and intensely strong affection for that brother, with an equally strong sentiment of a virtual obligation resting upon him to fill the place made void by his death, in part gave direction to his labor and enterprise, while to a man so full of activity and energy there were constantly opening new occasions on which he

could make himself beneficently felt. He had rare fitnesses for a life of large and varied usefulness. His character could not but command profound respect, which with the lapse of years deepened into reverence. No suspicion of self-seeking could ever rest upon him. It was not enough to say of him that he "put on righteousness," for it was impossible to imagine him without it; and his integrity was not mere truth and honesty, but the plain and explicit utterance and manifestation of whatever of thought or feeling any other persons had a right to know. He was sincerely philanthropic. In declining the work of the ministry, he retained the high purpose with which he would have entered upon it, and the only change was his doing Christian work on a larger scale. He had, too, an immovable persistency of aim and endeavor, and a strenuousness of will-power which gave him the easy mastery of wills other than his own. He was also wise in discerning the unconscious needs of the community; and while not forsaking old paths or withholding his aid from established charities, and least of all from individual claimants on his sympathy, whose wants were always met with an open heart and hand, he was ready to take the lead in whatever he deemed desirable for the general good, and the confidence reposed in his judgment and his efficiency uniformly enlisted fit helpers.

The improvement of the music of the time was one of the aims of William Eliot, who passed away before he had been able to attain any definite result. His brother Samuel was equally a lover of music, with no little scientific knowledge, and he held views, which few shared at the outset, as to the unspeakable worth of this art in its humanizing, civilizing, and educating influence. It was his persistent and successful endeavor at once to elevate the standard of taste and performance, and to multiply those who could give and receive pleasure by vocal and instrumental music. He bore the principal part in the establishment of the Academy of Music, and was its first President. For the use of the Academy the Federal Street Theatre was reconstructed into a music hall, with room for an audience of twenty-five hundred, and with the necessary class-rooms and lecture-rooms. At the opening of this building, under the name of the Odeon, Mr. Eliot delivered the Address. Here, under his presidency, Beethoven's symphonies were performed for the first time in this country. Here also Romberg's music for Schiller's "Song of the Bell" was given to the public, in an English translation by Mr. Eliot, closely conformed to the rhythm of the original.

As a leading member of the School Committee, Mr. Eliot introduced music into the public schools

of Boston, which was the first American city to make music a part of the school curriculum, — a measure of prime importance, not only for its own sake, but as helping to create a higher tone of manners and of morals in the pupils, as giving the children added pleasurable associations with their school-life, and as often superseding the necessity of arbitrary rule and penal discipline, and maintaining or restoring order by a song instead of a scourge.

A very different work in which Mr. Eliot was warmly and actively interested was that of the Prison Discipline Society, of which he was successively Manager, Treasurer, Vice-President, and President. The prisons in this country, in the first quarter of the present century, were destitute of efficient supervision, and left to the sole responsibility of the individual keepers or their assistants. The most cruel punishments were frequent; the association of prisoners of different classes was seldom restricted, and in most cases there was no provision for moral and religious instruction and influence. American penitentiaries could have been so named only in solemn irony, as the tendency of the entire system, or rather no-system, was to cancel the class of reclaimable convicts and to make the bad worse. Rev. Louis Dwight, a man of no little ability and of single-hearted zeal, gave himself to the work of



prison reform with a self-devotion which Howard can hardly have exceeded, and he was employed as general agent by a society formed for that purpose, and having among its members a large proportion of the strongest and best men in New England. Mr. Eliot contributed liberally to its funds, and was second to none among Mr. Dwight's supporters, counselors, and helpers. The organization was vigorous, thoroughly in earnest, and successful in correcting some of the worst abuses, in establishing modes and systems of intelligent supervision, and in making the prisons an object of humane interest and effort on the part of a still increasing number of Christian men and women. It lapsed into inaction and dropped out of being after Mr. Dwight's death. But I am glad to say that a new society with like purpose has been formed, since the present year began, under the presidency of Dr. Samuel Eliot.

Mr. Eliot was the first President of the Boston Provident Association, of which he, his pastor, Rev. Dr. Ephraim Peabody, and the late Francis E. Parker (H. U. 1841) were the founders. This society was, though it ought not to have been, as original as it was eminently useful, in its plan and methods. There probably was no city in the world where there had been more ample provision for the poor than in Boston, whether by private almsgiv-

ing, benevolent organizations, or public institutions. But a portion of the Hebrew prophet's definition of charity, "That thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh," had been largely overlooked, and by reason of improvidence and imposture a very considerable portion of the funds meant for the relief of actual want was misapplied and wasted. The plan of the Provident Association was to district the city for personal visitation ; to obtain and keep accurate knowledge of the condition of the poor individually ; to aid them, where there was not adequate reason for doing otherwise, by the supply of the very commodities specially needed ; and also to maintain communication with the various public charities, so as to deprive unworthy claimants of the opportunity of preying on the community. Of this association Mr. Eliot was not only the official head, but an active member, performing a very large amount of personal service, and with his habitual liberality contributing generously to its charities. Boston has outgrown the sphere of any single society ; but the work now performed by the "Associated Charities" in their federal capacity has very much the same programme with that which was initiated by Mr. Eliot and his coadjutors more than half a century ago.

Mr. Eliot was for many years a warden of King's Chapel, and the intimate friend and helper

of Drs. Greenwood and Peabody, who looked to him for the numerous offices in the service of the church which are absolutely essential to a successful ministry, and which the minister himself can perform only to the detriment of his own proper work. Mr. Eliot knew equally well what to do and what not to do, — how to shield and aid a minister's reputation and usefulness without encroaching on his province or limiting his freedom. He at the same time took the chief charge of the music of the Chapel, and was the leading member of the volunteer choir, which until a comparatively recent period bore part in public worship.

William Eliot and his brother were among the earliest summer residents at Nahant, and before William's death it had been determined to build a union church, in which the brothers were warmly interested. When William died, plans for the church were already on his table. The surviving brother was moved to redoubled diligence and energy in the work, and in effort, influence, and pecuniary contributions was second to none among the founders of the Nahant church, which has for considerably more than half a century maintained worship by the union of persons of different denominations, represented in turn by ministers of their several churches, and has shown that not only the most friendly relations, but common and

mutual religious intercourse and sympathy may subsist, in the bond of perfect charity, among Christians of one heart, though not of one mind. Mr. Eliot's name appears on a memorial tablet in the beautiful stone church which has replaced the original wooden building.

Mr. Eliot could not have been an office-seeker, nor could he have become a candidate of any party, had pledge, concession, or compromise been a condition precedent. But in his time the custom of seeking the best man for an office had not become so nearly obsolete as it is now. He therefore served in both branches of the Legislature, was a member of the Board of Aldermen during the mayoralty of his brother-in-law, Theodore Lyman, and was himself Mayor of Boston in 1837 and the two following years. It was a time when a man of less intense vigor would have found himself powerless, and have left the city defenseless. The volunteer fire companies had become a nuisance and a terror to the citizens. With almost daily calls for their services, and with no compensation, the companies, were filled chiefly from the most disreputable classes, by men who were too lazy or too untrustworthy for regular employment, and who obtained subsistence only in those mysterious ways in which there are always living some men who have no right to live. While they were

not paid, a certain amount was allowed them by the city government for "refreshments," which of course meant drink-money. If quenching fires was their vocation, riot and mischief were their *a*-vocation. In the first year of Mr. Eliot's mayoralty, on a Sunday, an engine company, returning from a fire, came into collision with an Irish funeral. Alarms were sounded that called out all the other engine companies, and it was computed that in a short time not less than fifteen thousand people were engaged in the fight. The Mayor was instantly on the ground, and, finding the police force worthless, he immediately called out the military. The Lancers, a cavalry corps, and several companies of infantry were collected with all possible dispatch, and in less than two hours from the outbreak of the disturbance the Mayor had eight hundred armed men at his command in Broad Street, the chief seat of the riot. Peace was promptly restored; but a military patrol was kept up through the night, with sentinels at the church doors to prevent an alarm. On investigation, it appeared that the firemen were at least equally guilty with the Irishmen; indeed, must have been the aggressors, as even Hibernian pugnacity would hardly have made the first assault when in attendance on a funeral. Mr. Eliot determined at once on the breaking up of an organization which could no

longer subsist except at the peril of property and life for the whole city. In less than three months the engine companies were disbanded, and the fire apparatus was placed under the charge of duly compensated and responsible functionaries. The resentment of the discharged firemen and their numerous friends of the baser sort was intense and virulent, and vented itself in incendiary fires, inasmuch that it was necessary for several weeks to maintain volunteer patrols all over the city. The utter insufficiency of the police for any emergency demanding prompt and efficient action was demonstrated at and by the Broad Street riot, and Mr. Eliot, during the following year, procured an act of the Legislature, authorizing the appointment by the Mayor and Aldermen of police officers with all the powers of constables except in the service of civil processes. Under Mr. Eliot's administration, the Hospital for the Insane in South Boston was erected and opened for patients. The record of his mayoralty holds a conspicuous place in the history of Boston, inasmuch as the worst elements of the populace were fast gaining an ascendancy which could be checked only by the most vigorous action and the most cogent authority continuously exercised by the chief magistrate.

In 1850 Mr. Eliot was chosen a member of Congress. In that year were passed the (so-called)

Compromise measures, including the admission of California as a free State and the Fugitive Slave Law. For both these measures Mr. Eliot voted. However we may regret the fact of his having voted for that obnoxious law, no one who knew him ever doubted that he acted conscientiously, against his own interest and sympathies, and in accordance with his sincere conviction of right. Indeed, at this distance of time no fair mind can fail to see that in the issue then before Congress an equally strong case of imperative duty might have been urged on either side. When the controversies connected with slavery shall have become obsolete, posterity will very probably agree with Mr. Eliot that, so long as the Constitution remained unamended, it was incumbent on the national legislature to provide for the fulfillment of its pro-slavery stipulations ; and that the error consisted in treating the Constitution as the work of more than human wisdom, as infallible and virtually of divine authority, instead of so amending it, while it could have been done peaceably, as to provide for the gradual extinction of slavery.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This possibility is not so chimerical in the retrospect as it might seem. Till the full development of cotton culture as the chief industry of the southernmost States, slave property was of little value in the more northern slave States. They had more slaves than they could profitably employ,

A whirlwind-harvest never fails when men sow the wind. Among Mr. Eliot's strongest motives for his vote on the Fugitive Slave Law was his dread of a civil war, which he thought closely impending unless a truce were instantly effected between the North and the South, and his belief that the disruption of the Union and the perpetuation of slavery would be the inevitable result of such a war.

Mr. Eliot knew, in casting that vote, that he was acting against the already manifested and pronounced opinion and sentiment of his constituents and of Massachusetts, and that he was cutting himself off from all possibility of reëlection, and from every public office dependent on the choice of the people. What to him meant much more, he deemed it his duty in this matter to act against the seeming interest of a race which had always had his sympathy and aid. He was known as a friend and helper of the colored people. He had

and there was no market for the overplus. The consequence was a very strong anti-slavery feeling in these States. There were in Virginia and Maryland, and, unless my memory plays me false, even in North Carolina, anti-slavery societies, with constitutions as strongly worded as would have been desired at a later period by any Northern abolitionist. While this was the case, amendments, not affecting the existing conditions of property, yet tending prospectively to the abolition of slavery, could hardly have failed of the requisite three-fourths vote of the States.



at that very time under his special patronage Rev. Mr. Henson, a fugitive slave, and the pastor of a large congregation of fellow-fugitives in Canada ; and he wrote out from Henson's dictation, prepared for the press, and printed at his own charge, the eventful, and in some parts romantic, narrative of his fortunes while in bondage, his escape, and the stages by which — at thirty years of age unable to read — he had fitted himself well for the work of the gospel ministry. It is worthy of note that while many of Mr. Eliot's friends were disposed to look upon him coldly, Father Henson never wavered in his loyal attachment, and I well remember, when at Dr. Lothrop's house, at a meeting of clergymen on which Henson chanced to alight, he made a most fervent outpouring of gratitude for Mr. Eliot's kindness, and expressed his strong assurance that he had acted in the integrity of his heart, and without being any the less the negro's true friend.

Mr. Eliot followed his father's example as a liberal giver to Harvard College. As early as 1823, he gave to the College " Warden's extensive collection of books on American history, consisting of nearly twelve hundred volumes, besides maps, charts and prints, at a cost of upwards of five thousand dollars." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, vol. ii. p. 316.

From 1842 to 1853 Mr. Eliot was Treasurer of the College. This, so far as compensation was concerned, had always been an honorary office, and was so in his case till his last year of service, when it was wisely determined by the governing boards, in accordance with his own opinion, that the funds of the College had reached such a condition, both as to amount and as to diversity and requisite changes of investment, as to demand the skilled supervision and management of a trained and experienced financier. During his treasurership, the College was prosperous, with the then usual average of gifts and with no pecuniary reverses. The chief object of interest for those years was the building of the Astronomical Observatory, toward which he contributed liberally and was at pains to secure contributions. He took great delight in superintending the work, and, except the corps of observers who were to occupy it, no one can have rejoiced more than he in its completion. I do not find that after retiring from the treasurership he filled any office except the presidency of the Boston Gas Light Company, which he retained nearly or quite till his death in 1862.

Mr. Eliot was at no time actively engaged in commerce, and was not, in the ordinary sense of the words, a business man. At a late period of his life, he became a silent partner in a dry-goods

commission firm, one of the members of which was a near family connection. In 1857 that firm failed, and of course Mr. Eliot's whole property, including that of his wife, which had never been secured to her, was involved in the disaster. He refused his consent to any other arrangement than the entire surrender of everything that he possessed, and from ample wealth, honorably held and used, he sank, or rather rose, into an even more honorable poverty, — this, too, with undisturbed quietness of spirit, and, as his wife told me, without the loss of a single night's sleep. He removed to Cambridge, and adapted himself with perfect cheerfulness to his change of circumstances. His only son, the present President of Harvard College, then already a tutor, and the next year a professor in the college, by his society and his assiduous offices of filial reverence and love, contributed largely to his father's happiness ; and there were other children, grandchildren too, and friends, old and new, more than could be easily numbered, who dissipated by a gladdening sunlight whatever shadows might have rested on those later years.

Mr. Eliot was an easy and graceful writer, and as such might have had a distinguished place, had he not, with characteristic generosity, always done more for others than for his own fame. His brother William was the classmate and dear friend

of Mr. Sparks; and while Samuel would have prized Mr. Sparks for his own sake, as heir of his brother's friendships he held him in the more intimate regard. He rendered to Mr. Sparks essential aid, more than can be easily measured, in collecting the letters and writings of Washington, so that in this respect he was to a considerable extent co-editor.<sup>1</sup> He edited two volumes of Dr. Greenwood's Sermons, with a biography full, adequate, appreciative, and — to give the highest possible praise — worthy of its subject. He performed a like service to the memory of Dr. Peabody in a memoir prefixed to a volume of his sermons. In 1848, during his treasurership, he published "A Sketch of the History of Harvard College and of its Present Condition," which is admirable for conciseness, comprehensiveness, neatness of arrangement, and simplicity of style, and needs only an alphabetical index to make it the most convenient manual of reference for the entire period which it covers. He wrote much, and always wisely and

<sup>1</sup> "To Mr. Samuel A. Eliot I want to make a public acknowledgment of the substantial and valuable aid he has in various ways given to my undertaking, the successful issue of which has been promoted in no small degree by his friendly offices and personal exertions." — From the Preface of Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*.

well, for the "North American Review" and the "Christian Examiner."

The most noteworthy of Mr. Eliot's works was not, in the usual sense of the word, published, but was written for his own children, and had a very limited circulation. I remember having procured a few copies for use in the Sunday-school connected with my church, and it was in its department a text-book of unique value. The title of the book is "Observations on the Bible, for the Use of Young Persons," and it bears ample witness to the author's thorough study of its subject, to the firmness of his religious faith, and to his profound reverence for its sacred records. It covers the ground occupied by what are commonly called "Introductions" to the Old and New Testament. It is fully level with the best scholarship of its time (1842); and though some portions of it have been made obsolete in the progress of biblical criticism, the larger part of it, if reprinted, would replace, to the lasting benefit of the now rising generation, the less carefully studied and less conscientiously written works of the kind, which sometimes minister to unreasoning skepticism rather than to a reasonable faith.

I am glad that there are these printed memorials of Mr. Eliot for those of a later generation;

but we who knew him need no reminder of a face, voice, and mien, the transparent medium of as pure, true, high-minded, large-hearted a man as has his record among those whom the alumni of Harvard College should hold in enduring honor.

## GEORGE BARRELL EMERSON.

1817, LL. D. 1859.

THERE are forty-six Emersons in the Harvard Quinquennial of 1885, all, it is believed, from the same parent stock, though from widely divergent branches; and many of these graduates have been men of mark, — one of them, certainly, of a fame more than coextensive with the English tongue. But of them all there cannot have been one who made for himself so enduring a place in unwritten and never-to-be-written history as the man who for nearly half a century directed the culture and shaped the characters of young women, most of whom became wives and mothers, many of whom ascribed to him the best that was in them of mind and heart, and very many have transmitted to children and grandchildren the traits of the interior life formed and developed under his influence. Before commencing his life record I want to say something about his father.

Samuel Emerson (H. U. 1785, hon. M. D. 1824) must have been between seventy and eighty years of age when I first knew him. He was a delegate

of the church in Kennebunk, Maine, at my ordination in Portsmouth, in 1833. Subsequently I was often a guest at his house, and he sometimes at mine. As a *raconteur* he was the most interesting talker whom I ever knew. He had a large and varied experience to draw from, — the memories of his rustic birthplace, with its manners, personages, and local histories; of the Revolutionary War, in which he served as surgeon; of his long and widely scattered medical practice, with its startling incidents; of college in his time, and of the fortunes of his fellow-students, of whom he seemed never to have lost the knowledge; of all sorts and conditions of people, from the aristocracy of York and Kittery, which had not parted with its prestige till midway in his career, and old Boston families of like hereditary claims, to lonely households in new clearings in the backwoods in the rear of Kennebunk. When he was at my house we always listened to him long after midnight, and took leave of him for bed with unsated appetite. I once spent a night at his house with Chief Justice Mellen, of Maine (who was a year before him in college), and Rev. Dr. Nichols, as fellow-guests. Dr. Nichols and I were hearers. The Judge and Dr. Emerson kept us alternating between unappeasable laughter and the verge of tears, by a series of anecdotes covering their common and their parted lives, till at



length, in the small hours toward morning, they came to the time when they used to borrow the keys of Christ Church in Cambridge, on a Saturday afternoon, and with the elder Dr. Ware, who was Dr. Emerson's classmate, availed themselves of the only organ within their reach, for a long musical *soirée à trois*. While they were talking over the then favorite tunes, Dr. Emerson opened his parlor organ, began playing one of those strange old-world fuguing tunes which still held their place in ancient music-books when I was a boy, and he and the Judge sang it together, with quavering voices indeed, but with no less spirit and probably deeper feeling than when, nearly sixty years before, their voices had blended in the same strains.

Dr. Emerson's wife was the daughter of Nathaniel Barrell, an eminent merchant of York, which was almost an emporium of West Indian and South American commerce. She was of a family of sisters who were among the most accomplished women of their time. One of them, Mrs. Wood, was said to be the earliest American novelist; so early indeed, that, dying at the age of ninety, she had outlived her fame, but not the conversational grace and charm which must have given tone to her social life.

George Barrell Emerson was born in Kenne-

bunk, in 1797. The principal part of his fitting for college was under the tuition of his father, who retained through life his taste and love for the Latin classics, and who seems to have anticipated what are deemed modern improvements in teaching, — making his pupil learn the inflections and relations of words from their position and use instead of committing the grammar to memory. George spent the last ten or twelve weeks before entering college at Dummer Academy, and there studied *seriatim* the paradigms and the rules of syntax which he had already learned *in situ*, — a study, as it seems to me, essential, but properly belonging to the close, and not to the beginning, of the preparatory course.

Meanwhile young Emerson had incidentally an opportunity for scientific self-education, which subsequently determined the direction of one of his favorite and beneficent pursuits. A neighbor lent him the first volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy, which contains Dr. Cutler's scientific description of the indigenous plants of Massachusetts, — the most important and valuable botanical work which had then appeared in America. With the aid of this work Emerson identified all the plants in the neighborhood of Kennebunk, and acquired the methods and habit of botanical examination and analysis, which gave him one of

his preferred college recreations, when he and his classmate Caleb Cushing, who cultivated omniscience, made as thorough work as they could of the botany of Cambridge. In addition to the classics and to botany, Emerson, before entering college, had read an amount of standard English literature then not rare for a boy of sixteen, but far exceeding the really valuable reading at the present time of a high-class college graduate.

During Mr. Emerson's college life, like the best scholars in general, he kept school in the winter,<sup>1</sup> and in his Senior year he had a school in Bolton, whence he became so favorably known in Lancaster that, on graduating, he was invited, as a matter of course, to take the school which Mr. Sparks vacated on his appointment as tutor. The school had been limited to twenty-five pupils; but as Mr. Emerson was found "apt to teach," and as there was a strong pressure from without, the number was increased to forty-two, as many as the school-room would hold, and his employers gener-

<sup>1</sup> The College calendar was arranged with reference to this custom. The one long vacation was of seven weeks in the winter. Most of the winter schools in the country towns had terms of but ten weeks; hardly any, of more than twelve. The first three weeks of the second college term were remitted by established rule to all teachers, and leave for an additional two weeks' absence could always be secured by special vote of the Faculty.

ously raised the charge for tuition from twenty to twenty-five dollars a year, which, I think, was the largest tuition fee then known outside of Boston. At Lancaster Mr. Emerson had as pupils the sons of Dr. Thayer, who were in after life among his warmest friends, and who always bore testimony to his capacity of getting the best work out of his pupils by appealing only to their sense of duty, to their love of knowledge, and to ambition, not for excelling one another, but for positive excellence. Mr. Emerson remained at Lancaster, till he was invited to Cambridge, again to succeed Mr. Sparks, who had resigned his mathematical tutorship for his Baltimore pastorate.

In the second year of Mr. Emerson's tutorship, he was unanimously elected the first Master of the Boston English Classical (now English High) School, — the earliest free school of that kind and grade in the world.<sup>1</sup> He obtained at the outset leave to teach and manage the school in his own preferred way; probably for the first time in any Anglo-Saxon school for boys, bodily chastisement was dispensed with, and he found that he could govern the seventy-five boys who came under his charge without need of penal discipline. He at

<sup>1</sup> Previous public high schools were, so far as I know, in every instance Latin schools (so called), in which the preparation of boys for college had been the principal work.

the same time gave the boys to understand that he should always believe every pupil's word till he had detected him in a falsehood, and that he should regard their telling him anything to one another's injury as "the meanest thing that any boy can do." He endeavored also to keep his school as free as possible from the spirit of rivalry, and to induce the boys to aim at a positive standard of merit, and not at supplanting one another in their classes. His only regret was that he was obliged, in behalf of the municipal government, to bestow a certain number of medals as rewards for proficiency, and found it difficult to harmonize the conventional with the real tokens of superior merit. He justly attached great importance to the devotional services which formed part of every day's school life, which as a mere formalism would have been worse than worthless, but which under his auspices were made a pervading influence and a paramount power throughout the day. In teaching he departed widely from the routine method then in vogue, and his pupils were trained, not merely to recite lessons, but to use their own faculties of observation, reflection, and reasoning. Colburn's *Mental Arithmetic*, which, with the manuals that succeeded it, revolutionized the elementary mathematical teaching of New England, had its origin in Mr. Emerson's quest of a more rational method than then pre-

vailed. Warren Colburn was at that time master of a private school, and in one of their frequent conferences as to modes of teaching, Mr. Emerson proposed to him to write out a series of questions in arithmetic, to be answered orally ; and that series, of which Mr. Emerson made trial with his classes, became the book which is, I suppose, still in use, or if not, cannot have been replaced by a better.

Such a school as this could hardly fail to be regarded, if not with envy, with a feeling as nearly like it as a virtuous feeling can be, by some of the leading and substantial citizens of Boston ; and they found Mr. Emerson by no means unwilling to believe that he could be most useful in a school for young ladies. He was accordingly induced to open such a school in 1823. As at Lancaster, he had more pupils than he bargained for. He consented to take twenty-five ; he was compelled to begin with thirty-two. From this time for between forty and fifty years he held the foremost place in his profession, and held it with such modesty, gentleness, and generosity that none conceded it to him more cordially than those who else might have entered the lists as competitors for it. The worth of labor like his is beyond all estimate. His hundreds of pupils, many of whom owed more to him than to any other human being, have been scattered all over the land and the world, and what of prin-

ciple and character they derived from him will have no insignificant educational office for generations yet unborn. In my knowledge of society, I have been greatly impressed by the frequency with which I have found his pupils and their daughters assiduous and active in those forms of charity in which personal visitation, kindly intercourse, and beneficent effort are made a fixed part of the plan of life, and regarded as matters of imperative duty. Duties and responsibilities of this kind, as essentially belonging to a prosperous condition, he never failed to urge imperatively on the girls under his charge. While his educational system, as such, was ample in its scope and comprehensiveness, his prime aim was not to stock the memory, but to form the character of mind, heart, and soul in the clear apprehension of truth, in a profound sense of duty to God and man, and in a Christlike simplicity, meekness, and purity. His own deeply religious spirit, without parade or ostentation, gave the tone to all his intercourse with his scholars, as indeed to his whole life, and his mission to them was, in his own consciousness and in theirs, nothing less than a holy priesthood. His farewell address, printed, after he had closed his school, for the use of all who had ever been under his instruction, is by far the most solemn, fervent, pathetic appeal to young women in behalf of the primal duties and

responsibilities of life that I have ever read ; and could it be printed and circulated by one of our religious tract societies, it would transcend in its capacity of extended usefulness the aggregate force and value of scores of their ordinary issues.

While busy in his own special work, Mr. Emerson was not unmindful of the interests of education in the community at large. As chairman of a committee of the American Institute of Instruction, he prepared and presented to the Massachusetts Legislature a memorial which resulted in the establishment of the Board of Education. As a member of this board, he took the lead in the formation of the State Normal Schools, in determining their location, and in securing for them the services of the best teachers, — teachers, in fact, who were imbued with his spirit, and who have through their pupils done a great deal toward establishing in public schools throughout the State humane modes of discipline and the supremacy of moral influence over brute force.

Mr. Emerson's early interest in botany had so survived as to keep him level with the progress, I might almost say the transformation, of the science since his boyhood. He was appointed to prepare a report on the trees of Massachusetts, as a supplement to the Geological Survey of the State. This Report, printed as a public document, was at the



time of its appearance regarded as of great scientific and practical value; and he subsequently so revised and enlarged it as to make of it two sumptuously printed and splendidly illustrated volumes, which constitute a standard work, of prime authority both as to exhaustive thoroughness and minute accuracy of description.

Of modes in which Mr. Emerson identified himself with all the best interests of the community, I could give no list that would not exclude more than it could comprehend. With voice, pen, labor, or pecuniary subsidy he was always ready to render aid to the full measure of his ability in any worthy cause or enterprise, and at the same time so careful not to have his name misused or his influence betrayed that his approval always meant thorough examination and deliberate judgment. He was among the founders of the Boston Natural History Society, and for several years its President. He was a frequent, copious, and valuable contributor to the best periodical literature, especially on educational subjects. His industry was unceasing, and what he called his leisure seemed hardly less busy and fruitful than his working hours. The latest public service in which he was engaged was as chairman of the Committee on Teachers, in connection with the Educational Commission for the benefit of the Southern freedmen. In this work more than a thousand teachers were

employed, and a very large proportion of them on credentials which had Mr. Emerson's careful inspection and approval.

Among Mr. Emerson's special services to the College, a prominent place must be given to the Arnold Arboretum, which was created, at his suggestion, by a bequest from his father-in-law, James Arnold. Mr. Emerson regarded this institution not only as of great scientific worth, but as of no small economical value in testing the capacity of exotic trees, useful or ornamental, to endure our climate, and to be profitably cultivated. He watched the work at the Arboretum as he would have watched the laying out and planting of his own private grounds, and his intimate knowledge, scientific and practical, of trees, their habits and their culture, was of inestimable service in the earlier stages of the enterprise.

The last three or four years of Mr. Emerson's life were a season of gradual and slow decline, without disease or suffering. He became more and more oblivious of names, faces, and recent events, but retained to the last his perfect serenity and sweetness of spirit, and, surrounded by all gentle and loving ministries, he sank in the kindly decay of nature, — "the silver cord loosed," not rudely severed; "the golden bowl" crumbled, not "broken at the fountain." He died in 1881, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

## STEPHEN SALISBURY.

1817, LL. D. 1875.

STEPHEN SALISBURY was born in Worcester in 1798. His father, whose name he bore, was a prosperous and, by his own enterprise and thrift, a rich merchant, a man of unassailable integrity, hospitable and generous. His mother was the sister of the eminent philanthropist, Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, and of kindred spirit and character with his. Their son was fitted for college partly in Worcester, partly at the Leicester Academy. He held a high rank in college, and graduated with honor.

On leaving college Mr. Salisbury returned to Worcester, and studied law with Hon. Samuel M. Burnside; but, though he became and continued a member of the bar, he never entered into general practice. He found sufficient business in the care of his father's increasing property, which, as he was the only surviving child, became his own by inheritance in 1829.

Mr. Salisbury's was as far as possible from being a self-seeking or self-centred life. With no

ambition other than that of the full discharge of the duties devolving upon him, this noblest of ambitions was the inspiration of his whole career, from early manhood till the death-shadow gathered over him. He kept constantly in view the growth and prosperity of his native town. He contributed largely to the development of its resources, made the improvement of his own property subsidiary to the public welfare, and gave his liberal aid and his often more valuable personal service to every institution and enterprise promotive of the general good. His habits were those of perpetual industry, with the most careful economy of time ; and the portion of his life work that had not either a direct, or a designed, though indirect, reference to the well-being of others or of the community was surprisingly small. Had he simply chosen safe and lucrative investments for his property, and led the life of elegant and literary leisure which would not have been uncongenial to his tastes, it is hard to say in how many ways and forms the lack of his counsel, coöperation, and munificence would have enfeebled the interests which he constantly cherished and advanced.

It scarce needs to be said of such a man that when public office came to him, it came from the choice of others, not from his own. He belonged to a class of men, I trust not extinct, though now

rarely in office, who would not lift a finger to obtain the highest or to evade the humblest public charge, but in either, as a matter of conscience and of sacred honor, would render the best service in their power. Such men used to have office forced upon them; they never sought it. Mr. Salisbury served both in the town and the city government of Worcester, was for two years in the House of Representatives and for two in the Senate of Massachusetts, and was for two successive terms one of the presidential electors. In various local institutions he was a frequent office-bearer, and assiduous to the utmost in whatever charge he was willing to assume. As a Director and President for more than fifty years of banks in Worcester, by his inflexible integrity, his financial skill and prudence, and his habit of close personal attention to everything within the range of his responsibility, he did no little toward giving tone and character in his own city to this department of business, in which we have seen elsewhere with sad frequency not only atrocious breaches of trust, but cases of negligence only and hardly less criminal, on the part of men who seemed to merit confidence till they had shamefully betrayed it. Of the Worcester Free Public Library he was for many years a Director, for eight years President of the Board of Trustees, to a large extent a liberal benefactor, and

always in full sympathy with the method of administration inaugurated by the Librarian, Samuel S. Green (H. U. 1858), by which more has been done for the diffusion of knowledge among the people at large and the creation of a taste for pure and good literature than by any other similar institution in the world.

Most of all, the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science was indebted to him, not indeed for its establishment, but for its high scientific and literary reputation, for the breadth and thoroughness of the education which it affords, for its elevated tone of manners and morals, for the conspicuous and honored place which it holds among our institutions of learning, and for its eminent usefulness in the shaping of character for successive classes of young men who, as employers and directors of labor, become propagandists of whatever salutary influence they carry with them into the outside world. Mr. Salisbury's relation to this institution was characteristic of the man. With the funds that he bestowed upon it, very largely exceeding the aggregate of all other gifts, he might have established a seminary that should transmit his own name to posterity, and should far transcend the best that could be done by the donation of the actual founder. On the other hand, he adopted the founder's plan, and rendered

its realization possible, notwithstanding a great depreciation of money after the endowment had been made, claiming for himself only the privilege of carrying out the original purpose. As President, he filled, of course without residence, in all matters of importance, the place belonging to the president of a college, with that of the bursar in addition ; anticipating all the financial needs of the Institute ; applying consummate practical wisdom to its economical interests ; holding without assuming, because he could not but hold, its intellectual headship ; exerting the utmost wariness and discretion in the choice of teachers ; sustaining their authority and influence ; rendering himself a beneficent power among the pupils ; stimulating them to diligence, mental enterprise and high moral aims and purposes ; and making them feel, each and all, that they had in him a cordial well-wisher, who appreciated all merit at its full value, and who would never fail in their need to bestow upon them his countenance and aid. He delivered at the Commencements of this institution addresses often elaborate, always wise, pertinent, and timely. Few series of Baccalaureates would bear comparison with these addresses, in their range of thought, in the abundance of seedling thoughts dropped where they could not but fructify, in affluence of literary and classical illustration ; in fine, in materials care-

fully selected from the wealth of a life equally active and studious, — discourses specially adapted to the counsel, admonition, and instruction of young men just entering on their several careers of life-work. It was only a few weeks before his death, in 1884, that he delivered the last of these addresses, uttering what all present knew, as he himself undoubtedly did, would be his parting words where his voice had been heard for so many years; and though he was manifestly using the feeble remnant of a strength failing from hour to hour, he could not on that occasion be persuaded to omit the usual reception at his house on the ensuing evening, or to delegate to younger hands the welcoming of the crowd of visitors.

While thus devoted to the institution of which he was more than founder, he retained through life his loyalty to Harvard College. Beside occasional contributions for current uses, he endowed the library with a permanent fund for the purchase of classical books. In 1883 he closed his second term of six years as Overseer of the College, and would have been reelected but that by law a member is ineligible for three successive terms. He was for eighteen years a Trustee, and for fifteen years Treasurer of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology, in which he took a great interest; and with his wonted punctuality, though too feeble



to make the journey safely, he attended a meeting of the Board less than two months before the close of his life.

Mr. Salisbury was an active member of many associations for religious and charitable purposes, and at the meetings of one of these, which were held at ten o'clock on a morning in the late autumn, he was always present on the stroke of the clock, though those who lived hard by found the hour too early. Long the Treasurer of the Worcester Bible Society, he was for many years a Vice-President of the Massachusetts Bible Society, and by far the largest annual donor to its funds.

For thirty years Mr. Salisbury was President of the American Antiquarian Society. So far as its material interests are concerned, its prosperity and its means of constantly growing usefulness are due, more than to all other subsidies, to Mr. Salisbury's liberality in connection with the erection, enlargement, and improvement of its building, and the establishing of permanent funds for specific purposes; while no casual deficit has been suffered to remain unprovided for. Then, too, while he was in this sense the body of the Society, he was still more its soul. He had the capacity and the habit of painstaking research, and at the same time the tact to discriminate between that which age makes venerable and precious and that to

which even pre-mundane antiquity would impart neither interest nor value, yet in which many a Dryasdust finds satisfying scope for labor which is not worth the ink that gives it record. His contributions to the Proceedings of the Society began with his presidency, and outnumber its years. Some of these are papers which required and rewarded the most elaborate investigation. Among these I might specify the "Memorial of Governor John Endecott," which is second to no monograph of its kind in the judicial weighing of historical evidence, in fair appreciation of character, and in comprehension of the state of society at a time so remote from ours. Nor can those who were members of the Society during his lifetime ever forget the rare grace of his presiding; the careful and considerate courtesy with which he consulted the convenience, taste, or wishes of individual officers or members; or the hospitality which found room at his table for the scores of guests that had attended the morning meeting.

In naming the various posts of public service which Mr. Salisbury held, I give but a very imperfect account of his life-work. He kept his time so full that it was elastic, and would always stretch to new demands upon it; for it is they who do the most that the most readily find room for more. Whatever was worthy of his coöperation never

failed of his help in counsel and in action; nor, when his gait grew feeble and effort must have been weariness, was there any slackening of his industry. But a life-work, however large and full, consists less in the things that a man does than in the selfhood that he puts into them. Acts are small multiplicands; the actor's self, the much greater multiplier, and thus the chief factor in the product. It is therefore impossible to overestimate the efficient force which a man like Mr. Salisbury put even into what seemed the common round of daily duty, which with him was no routine, no self-returning circle, but an ever enlarging and ascending spiral. Yet, while no man ever made more than he did of the closing years of a lengthened life, he looked upon death as in God's good time to be welcomed and rejoiced in. In a letter which I had from him during the last year of his life he wrote:—

“The text ‘Who hath abolished death,’ and other similar language in the Bible and in ordinary Christian utterances, contemplate death associated with human weakness and wickedness as that which the teachings and hopes of Christianity will conquer and abolish. But it is beyond question that death is currently represented as an interruption, and a painful and frightful calamity in itself, without regard to that which may follow;

and this opinion recurs in the abundant literature of our day, when so much attention is given to the facts of physics and the experiences of life that are inconsistent with it. Death is an incident in striking analogy with the dissolutions of inanimate matter, whose improved reproductions show the probability of the resurrection of man. The human body in its best preservation is subject to be worn out, and disabled for its purpose; and physicians tell us that the end of its course, when free from complications, is attended with evidence, commonly of relief, often of pleasure. A few days ago, in talking with a friend, an earnest clergyman and a scholar, I alluded to the blessing of death, and he was shocked, and started in his chair as if I had spoken that which was false and repulsive. But without this ministry the human race could not rise in knowledge and happiness above the shepherd tribes on the plains of Mamre, restrained by the authority of the patriarchs. And death is undeniably a blessing in individual experience. If the generations did not pass, the development of the young would be impeded, if not prevented, and social order could not exist. Then the moral influence for which decay and death give occasion cannot be overlooked. The false estimate of death supports, if it does not originate, another error, the desirableness of a long life. This opin-

ion is so nearly universal in literature and among living men that it may be referred to the suggestions of a wholesome instinct. Yet in the few instances in which fourscore years are exempt from the ordinary burden of labor and sorrow, old age is not an improved condition of life. I will not enlarge on the unhappiness of the consciousness of insufficient and decaying powers, and of the pain of standing in the way of the young, who, in reverent and loving service, forbear to unfold their faculties and take their place in society until death gives the opportunity. I have said enough to prove that death is not only

‘Friend to the wretch whom every friend forsakes,’

but a friend to every human being.”

That he could so write shows that there was no need for him so to write.

Mr. Salisbury was a profoundly religious man, a diligent and earnest reader of the Holy Scriptures, firm in his Christian faith, constant in the support and reverent observance of Christian institutions and ordinances, walking humbly with his God, and making the Word of God, written and incarnate, the rule and the inspiration of his life. His habits and conduct were based on fixed principles. Not only in the transaction of business, but in his judgment and treatment of others, truth and

uprightness were his law, and those who knew him cannot conceive of any deflection on his part from justice; nay, not even in that broad sense in which justice is equivalent to wise, impartial, comprehensive charity.

He obeyed the apostolic precept, "Honor all men." The most refined courtesy was to him as natural and spontaneous as breathing. He assumed nothing on the score of position, nor yet, in his later years, on that of age. Humanity meant more to him than its differences, and was always a sufficient claim on his respect. He was not condescending; for he did not consider himself as stooping to hold friendly intercourse with any human being. His bearing was always dignified, for it could not be otherwise; but it was the dignity of blended self-respect which he never laid aside and kindly regard which ignored the artificial distinctions of society. Thus while there was no need of his looking up to, it was impossible for him to look down upon, any one. His whole social influence, not only in his own circle, but in his conversance with all sorts and conditions of men, tended toward the leveling upward, the raising of the grade, of those who stood toward him in any relation, however humble; he thus doing his part of the work which properly belongs to the institutions and citizens of a republic, where there ought to be room neither for aristocrats nor for pariahs.

Mr. Salisbury's generosity was large and broad, and at the same time careful and discriminating. He regarded his wealth as a sacred trust, and he was solicitous equally to avoid doing harm and to effect real and enduring good by its use. As a giver, he was averse from ostentation, and when the direction or the magnitude of his gifts made publicity inevitable, it was never of his own choice. His bounty flowed in more numerous and more diverse channels than it would have been easy to trace. I was acquainted with repeated instances — and there must have been very many such — in which the mere knowledge of deserving need, remote and entirely unrelated to him, called out from him prompt relief ; and also with instances in which applications which he had strong selfward reasons for regarding favorably were dismissed, because he thought their purpose either unattainable or of doubtful value. He was especially assiduous in helping those who were doing their utmost to help themselves ; in assisting obscure and modest enterprise ; in encouraging industry and thrift ; in giving the requisite aid to young men of promise, whether in the pursuit of education or in active business ; in fine, in such charities as, instead of perishing with the using, yield a permanent and growing revenue. He was also solicitous so to bestow his benefactions as not to supersede the liberality of others. He put

a just value on the independence of the institutions which he most befriended, which an over-endowment by a single hand would have both enslaved and crippled, while their fresh and vigorous life could be sustained and fed by a more extended clientelage. He thus greatly enhanced the worth of his large, varied, and incessant pecuniary gifts by applying to them the wise and fruitful economy which characterized the management of his private affairs.

Mr. Salisbury's mind, like his moral nature, was developed symmetrically, with ability rather than with genius, but with ability which was wisdom and strength in whatever he did, which grew by constant exercise, and was never more conspicuous and efficient than in his late old age. He was familiar with the best English literature, and with not a few choice authors who are hardly known, except by name, to the present generation. He was a lifelong reader and admirer of the Latin classics; and after he had become an old man he revived his knowledge of the Greek, and found great delight in its wealth of epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry. He had no little conversance with the various departments of physical science, and kept himself in intimate relation with the instructors and classes in his favorite educational institution. His knowledge of American history, archæology, and bibli-



ography was extensive, and, so far as it extended, accurate and thorough. Of the literature in and of the Bible he was not merely a devout reader, but to no small degree a critical student. He wrote with care, less for rhetorical effect than for clearness and definiteness of statement. His style had the simple dignity and grace that belonged to his entire character, and was therefore the natural outcome of his thought and feeling. I see no reason why, if he had so chosen, he might not have been successful and even eminent as an author; for in whatever he wrote he showed himself master of his subject and equal to the occasion.

Mr. Salisbury's character failed of being striking because of its fully rounded perfectness. The best characters lack prominent traits, because there are no glaring defects, infirmities, and weaknesses to give prominence to the features of their exceeding goodness. *Chiar-oscuro* is as essential to attractive biography as it is to a picturesque landscape; and where there are no deep shadows we are hardly aware of the intenseness and brilliancy of the light. But though I knew Mr. Salisbury for many years, and was often his guest, I know not where or how to paint in the shadows.

## NATHANIEL WOOD.

1821.

IN my time in college, it was a very rare thing for a college officer to enjoy and at the same time fully to deserve the strong affection of the students. I want to make a brief record of a man who had that felicity with my class, and of whom my classmates continued in all subsequent time to speak with respect, love, and gratitude.

Nathaniel Wood was born in Holden in 1797. I know nothing of his early life; but as he entered college at a more advanced age than was then usual, and received aid from the beneficiary fund,<sup>1</sup> I suppose that he must have worked his

<sup>1</sup> I have before me Mr. Wood's "fourth Quarter Bill," for the quarter ending June 25, 1818, and it may be interesting to compare its items with the present cost at Harvard. We have "Steward and Commons," \$33.30; "Sizings," .40; "Study Rent," \$2.50; "Instructions," \$9.50; "Librarian," .50; "Catalogue and Commencement Dinner," .44; "Repairs and Fuel for Lecture Rooms," 2.29; "Sweepers and Sand," .75; "Wood," \$1.84; "Fine for manifesting disrespect to the authority of the College," \$4.00.

This bill may need some explanations. The Steward cor-

own way to a liberal education ; and it was undoubtedly the necessity of self-support, and perhaps of aiding some of his kindred, that interposed six years between his graduation and the com-

responds in office to the present bursar ; and he and the librarian were paid by a tax on the students. "Sizings" were extras of food and drink from the college commons, — the term having been borrowed from the English University of Cambridge. All the College rooms were rented at twenty dollars a year, and each had two occupants. The payment of forty-four cents a quarter still authorizes us who are old enough to have paid it to receive a Quinquennial Catalogue and to eat our Commencement dinner free of charge. For the lecture-rooms, the repairs must have far exceeded the cost of the "fewel," and they were repairs of wanton damage done by the students, and always charged to them. Sand was sprinkled on the floors of students' rooms and of the recitation rooms whenever they were swept. The fine could not have been for any offense of Wood individually ; for he has an allowance of twenty-five dollars in beneficiary money on this same bill. It was for some one of the then frequent combinations by which an entire class united in missing a recitation or in some assertion of autonomy, — occasions on which two or three leaders, if they could be ascertained, were suspended, and an abnormally heavy fine inflicted on the rest of the class. Fines were discontinued in 1823 or 1824. There was a regular tariff of fines, small for ordinary offenses, — only three cents for absence from prayers. One of my classmates, in his Freshman year, was suspended, because, when the class tutor notified him of a fine, he sent him a dollar bill and requested change.

mencement of his professional life. He was the only member of his class who ever held an office in college; and though I have no record of his rank, I know that he must have been a high scholar, inasmuch as, under Dr. Kirkland, no others were appointed tutors. I knew him but slightly. I entered college as a Junior, and his examining me in the mathematics of the Sophomore year constituted my only official connection with him. In this work he was thorough and faithful, but genial and kind, and he made me feel safe at once, without the normal red-tape delay; while in other departments I had to await, with no little solicitude, the slow movement of the collective Faculty for the formal announcement of a like favorable issue. I did not see him afterward till I had reached and he had long passed middle life, when I was his guest and talked over college days with him. He probably resigned his tutorship to study his profession.

“Nat Wood,” as he was called, was the “particular tutor”<sup>1</sup> of our class in the Sophomore year.

<sup>1</sup> Each class at that time had a tutor, whose double office it was to grant certain kinds of permissions and privileges, and to administer the (so-called) private admonitions to members of the class. The college discipline was micrological, almost infinitesimal, in its details of requirement and prohibition, and the particular tutor had, and was over-prone to ex-

Had he catered for popularity, he would have failed of it. The uniform testimony was that he never relaxed imperative rule or law in behalf of any student, while he never omitted an occasion of licit kindness or indulgence, and that his admonitions were not the mere carrying out of a college sentence, but were administered as they might have been by an elder to a younger brother. The favor won by weak compliance or indulgence does not last ; but so long as they lived the best men of my class spoke fondly and lovingly of "Nat Wood," and never learned to call him by any other name.

Mr. Wood, on being admitted to the bar, entered as a partner the law office of Ebenezer Torrey (H. U. 1822), of Fitchburg, and remained his partner till increasing infirmity obliged him to retire from active duty. Fitchburg was then a thriving country village, with less than two thousand inhabitants, and nearly a day's journey from Boston. He lived to see it with an increase of population six or seven fold, within an hour or a little more of Boston, one of the great centres of travel in every direction, a place of large and lucrative trade, and the seat of manufacturing

ercise, an unbounded power of annoyance. I am sorry to remember that some men who in after life were very lovable held this brief authority in a spirit by no means meek or gentle.

industries yielding an annual product of five or six millions of dollars. While in effecting such a growth an individual citizen bears a very small part, it imposes on a good citizen obligations fully commensurate with the opportunities which it opens to him. It is not every respectable inhabitant of a country village who can grow with it, while at the same time he helps it to grow, and can hold in the city which it becomes the same relative position in which he started on his career. This, however, was fully the case with Mr. Wood. He bore an active part in all municipal concerns and interests, on the school board, in the management of financial institutions, as among the foremost in every progressive movement, as a friend and helper of all the religious societies, while loyal to his own Unitarian church, as a sagacious and sound adviser, as a man who invited trusts of every kind because it was known that he could not betray them. He represented Fitchburg in the lower, Worcester County in the upper, house of the Legislature, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1854. As a lawyer he was incapable of chicanery, and won and kept his conspicuous place at the bar by his thorough and continuous professional training, by faithful industry, by vigilant care for the interests of his clients, and by his mastery of all legitimate resources for their benefit. He was one of

the men in whom the legal profession is most truly honored, — a man for whose departure from the right the world could offer no sufficient bribe, and with whom the right comprehended not bare justice alone, but a thoughtful and generous regard for his fellow-men. No one can have passed through a long and busy life with a reputation more absolutely stainless. In his home and in his social relations he was a man to be rejoiced in and to take pattern from; and while none failed to do him honor, he was most esteemed and loved where he was best known.

When I last saw Mr. Wood, he still had much of the brightness, quickness, sympathy with young life, and playful humor that recalled the "Nat Wood" of my class. But his last two years were clouded and enfeebled by chronic and disabling illness. He died in 1876.

## NATHANIEL SILSBEE.

1824.

THE accounts of Harvard College have been "kept" in various ways by different treasurers. John Hancock kept them in his own hands for eleven years, during which he remained deaf to the numerous and earnest demands of the governing boards; but he finally gave them up, and some fifteen years afterward his heirs paid with interest the amount that remained due from him to the College. Of another treasurer, the myth was (and myths always have a certain measure of verisimilitude) that he kept the accounts in the immense pockets of an old-fashioned waistcoat, which were discharged successively into a basket and a closet; but they were faithfully kept, bill, receipt, and voucher, and bore at the expiration of his term of office the test of careful and thorough auditing. The early treasurers were generally merchants or business men, and while book-keeping as an art was not fully developed, they undoubtedly kept the college accounts as regularly and accurately as their own. There is indeed reason to believe that



Harvard College never lost a farthing by fraud or fault of its treasurer, or, except by John Hancock, was ever served by any man in that office with less than the best of his ability. Since Mr. Francis became treasurer, in 1827, the college accounts have been kept in accordance with the most approved system of book-keeping; but until Mr. Eliot's last year, the treasurer's office had been a labor of love. Indeed, it was virtually so in the two following administrations: one of the treasurers refunding his salary in special donations to the College; the other undoubtedly, in his manifold charities, bestowing more than he received on students under his patronage, or in ways of which the College had the benefit. But in 1862 the business connected with the college funds had become so large and in various ways so complicated as to require the entire time and the best services of a man of the highest qualifications as to financial knowledge and skill and as to executive ability. Moreover, as Salem, in the days of its extended foreign commerce, had been renowned for the thorough training of its business men, and had already been beneficially known in establishing and securing the financial prosperity of the College, it was not unnatural to look to that quarter for the new treasurer, who was the first incumbent of the

office that was designated as they all should have been in the Triennial Catalogue.<sup>1</sup>

Nathaniel Silsbee was born in Salem, in 1804. His father, whose name he bore, commenced life as a seaman in the East India service, became a ship-master, a ship-owner, a merchant in extensive business, and a large capitalist. He served for many years in both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature, was for four years President of the Senate, then a Representative in Congress for three terms, and in the United States Senate for nine years; adorning every station by a character based on the highest principles, and by discretion and wisdom never at fault. His son became a leading citizen of Salem, represented the city in the Legislature, and served in its municipal government as alderman, then for two successive years, and afterward for one year, as mayor, each time declining reëlection. He subsequently was strongly urged to become a

<sup>1</sup> *Ærarii præfectus* is the title first given to Mr. Silsbee. The treasurer was previously called in the Catalogue *The-saurarius*, — a term never used as a noun by any classic author; used as an adjective by Plautus alone, and but twice by him, both times in the plural, with *fures* for its noun; and by Stephanus defined as equivalent to *θησαυρόστυλος*, *treasury-robbing*. The word probably found its way into our Catalogue in the time of the Mathers, who used a great deal of mediæval Latin, and it remained undisturbed till Mr. Felton's presidency.

candidate for Congress, but declined. His life was quiet and uneventful; but in every way and direction it was a life of beneficent example and influence. He was conservative in his position and opinions as to political and social questions, yet at the same time cautiously progressive in everything appertaining to the well-being of the community. In the fast days in which his life-route lay, he was disposed to man the brake rather than the driving engine, yet with a spirit in which, under altered conditions, he would have taken his place on the engine. He possessed in the highest degree the esteem, respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens, and had at the same time had ample experience in the management of property and the transaction of important financial affairs.

When the college Corporation chose him as treasurer, it was with the unanimous and warm approval of all who knew him. He fully justified the choice. His administration covered a period of high rates of interest and profit, but at the same time of much reckless speculation and hazardous investment. His conservative habits kept him prudent and safe as to investments, so that the college funds were intact during the panic and pecuniary straitness that ensued upon the years of overtrading and abnormal prosperity. He was also, as a member of the Corporation, wise in counsel, an

excellent judge of men and measures, and, though not predisposed to innovation, giving his ready approval and furtherance to the measures which were rapidly changing the College with its restricted curriculum into a veritable university. He remained in office and in unimpaired vigor of body and mind till 1876; and during his five later years the tokens of advancing age were few and slight, so that until his brief last illness he enjoyed life to the full, and hardly kept his friends aware that he was becoming an old man.

## CAZNEAU PALFREY.

1826, D. D., BOWDOIN, 1855.

PETER PALFREY was one of the "three honored and prudent men" associated with Roger Conant in the management of the infant plantation at Naumkeag, before the arrival of Governor Endicott. From that time the Palfrey family may be traced through a line of blameless reputation and fair standing, till it became distinguished in the person of Colonel William Palfrey, who was Aid of General Washington, was afterward Paymaster of the army, then received the appointment of Consul-General to France, and set sail on this mission in a vessel that was lost on its outward passage. He and his son William married members of a refugee Huguenot family from Rochelle, of the name of Cazneau, whence the Christian name of my classmate, who was born in Boston in 1805, and was the son of the younger William.

I lay stress on my friend's antenatal biography; for while there are in the moral, as in the business aristocracy, new men, self-made men (so called), and often wonderfully well made, there is a type

of goodness, mature, terete, symmetrical, perfectly balanced, shining, not with dazzling brilliancy, but with a pure and flawless radiance, which is the cumulative growth of successive generations. My classmate was of this type; and did I know as little of his genealogy as of Melchizedek's, I should be none the less certain that he came of a worthy and godly stock, and should look on the Huguenot mother and grandmother as antecedently probable.

Cazneau's father died when his son was but fifteen years of age, leaving less than a competence for his family, and thus imposing upon the son, then in the Latin School, the necessity of self-help. At the same time, the son, while not prematurely old, was compelled to take serious views of life, and he brought to college habits of prudent forethought and rigid economy, as well as of continuous and systematic industry. He never held a lower than the third place in his class, and held the second alternately with (Rev. Dr. Oliver) Stearns. He was regarded as by far the best writer in the class; and in the college societies, then (with a single exception) strictly devoted to literary culture and exercises, when he was to read a paper, there was always a full meeting, with its aftermath of laudatory comment. Dr. Pierce, in his journal, says of the Commencement in 1826, "Palfrey's oration on 'Moral Sublimity' was con-

sidered the best exercise of the Bachelors ;" and we of the class were very strongly of the same opinion. It was known from the first that he was going to be a minister ; and I am sure that the class unanimously regarded him as far more likely than any other expectant clergyman of our number to be eminent in the pulpit.

On leaving college Mr. Palfrey entered the Divinity School. In the academic year 1827-28 he was tutor in Latin, and our class secretary has left it on record that he had the good fortune, then unusual for a parietal officer, of passing through the year without having his windows broken. He resigned his office at the end of the year ; I know not why, but I suppose on account of the conflict of hours between College and the Divinity School. He entered on the ministry with the reputation of seldom equaled scholarship in the departments of study then rightly deemed, though now less seriously regarded, as essential to a clerical education.

Mr. Palfrey's first settlement was over the Unitarian Church at Washington, where his success was fully adequate to his antecedent reputation. He was considered by many members of Congress and other transient residents as a preacher of rare merit, and from their ranks he drew an increasing number of hearers of various denominations. But the permanent members of the society were few,

the population of the city was small and sparse, the church edifice was neither central nor attractive, and the provision for the support of a family would have been inadequate. For these reasons Mr. Palfrey resigned his Washington parish, and was afterward settled, first in Grafton, then in Barnstable. In these churches he was loved and honored; yet there was probably in both places a lack of that mutual adaptation of pastor and people without which neither can be fully satisfied.

In 1848 Mr. Palfrey became minister of the First Church in Belfast, Maine, where he had a pastorate of twenty-three years, terminated with reluctance on either side on account of his declining health and strength, which made the full and stated service of a parish no longer possible. His ministry at Belfast left nothing to regret save the necessity of its close. He had under his charge an unusually large proportion of men and families of high culture and social standing, among whom there was not only reverence for his character, but a discriminating appreciation of his intellectual gifts and graces, his rich and varied attainments, his fertility of thought, and his capacity as a writer. In their judgment, in the qualities of his sermons he had no equal. He also became very dear to his people, and the years since he left them have not made his memory less precious.



In 1871 Dr. Palfrey returned to Cambridge, where he remained till his death in 1888. Though the increase of a lameness which had always given him trouble disabled him for out-of-door activity, and growing deafness impeded his free intercourse with society, these later years of his life were very happy. He read many of the latest and the best books, especially in philosophy and cognate departments, wielded a busy pen in the frequent service of several of our periodicals, and took pains to put himself under wordfall from the lips of those to whom he most wished to listen, and of the many friends who in their interviews with him were conscious of receiving more than they gave. Only for the last few weeks was his enjoyment of life impaired by infirmity and suffering, and then a cheerful faith and an elastic hope shed light not of this world on the gathering shadows.

The prominent characteristic of Dr. Palfrey's mind was its clearness of vision. Truth seemed to reveal itself to him in its actual proportions, relations, harmonies, and antagonisms. His insight was deep; but the depths were transparent to him, as they are to an elect few. His studies had a wide range, his thought a wider, through the entire domain of mental, ethical, and religious philosophy; and he was so well fitted to be an expositor within this scope that an academic chair might

have seemed his proper place. He was very learned, both in the ordinary and in the higher sense of the word. He was largely conversant with books ; but he was the master, not the slave, of their contents. He read no more than he could assimilate and utilize, and bore not the remotest kindred to those gluttons of books whose erudition lies round in undigested masses, so as to impede all free exercise and fruitful use of the intellect.

Dr. Palfrey's style was the natural outcome of his habits of mind, — perspicuous and definite, concise and vigorous, pure and elegant. It would probably be difficult to find in anything that he wrote an obscure statement or a case of redundant verbiage. His conversation was not unlike his written style ; and his mind was so well stored with materials ready for use that if a subject, however abstruse, were started in his presence, he would discuss it as promptly and as fluently as if he had just risen from its special study, and in words which would hardly need revision for the press. His sermons were rich equally in thought and in sentiment, — earnest, devout, spiritual. They would have enhanced the reputation of many men who are followed by crowds of enthusiastic hearers. They were always listened to with profound attention by those who wanted to be instructed or edified. But he lacked the peculiar

properties of the popular preacher, and therefore, while he could not have been more prized than he was by those who were wont to hear him, he failed of the more extended fame which sometimes accrues to men who have not a tithe of his substantial merit.

## **SAMUEL HURD WALLEY.**

1826.

**SAMUEL HURD WALLEY** was born in Boston in 1805. His father was Samuel Hall Walley, at one time a merchant in extensive business, and much before the public in connection with the religious movements and enterprises in which he bore part, first as a Deacon of the Federal Street Church, and afterward as a member of the Old South Church. His mother was a daughter of Lieutenant-Governor William Phillips, and one of the numerous descendants of Rev. George Phillips, the first minister of Watertown, who, as is the case with many of the best families in New England, have not ceased for seven, eight, or nine generations to do honor to a clerical ancestry.

Young Walley was fitted for college at Andover, and against his own wishes was sent first to Yale College, in great part, it would seem, on account of the sectarian hostility then rife against Harvard. But he was not happy at Yale, and was probably rendered the more uneasy by his strong affection for his cousin, John C. Phillips, who was

already at Harvard, and whose classmate and chum he became at the beginning of the Sophomore year. Walley maintained a good standing in his class, and a pure and high moral character.

On leaving college the two cousins studied law, and were admitted to the bar; but Phillips, instead of entering on the practice of his profession, left it for the ministry, and Walley very early gave up the law, and became known chiefly in connection with various financial trusts under his charge.

Mr. Walley took a prominent part in the creation of the Suffolk Savings Bank, which he promoted with the philanthropic purpose of benefiting seamen, and he was the Treasurer of this institution for twenty years. He was at different times Treasurer of the Vermont Central, the Ogdensburg, and the Wisconsin Central railroads. He took the lead in the organization of the Revere Bank, was its first President, and retained this office till his death in 1877. He rendered, also, the most valuable gratuitous service as treasurer or financial adviser of various charitable and religious associations. His reputation for wisdom and skill in the management of funds was fully commensurate with the confidence universally felt in his incorruptible integrity and honor.

While one of the busiest of men in the numer-

ous secular concerns always upon his hands, Mr. Walley was a working member of the several churches to which he successively belonged, and of very many organizations alike for home charities and for religious propagandism. He was a Sunday-school teacher and superintendent for the greater part of his life, and in connection with this work he virtually exercised a Christian pastorate in the homes of his pupils. He was President of the Massachusetts Sunday School Society and of the Massachusetts Bible Society. At the same time, by a thoroughly Christian character, and by the genuine outflow of a kind and loving heart in all the intercourse of life, he was in his own person a propagandist of Christian piety, and there were many who ascribed the best that was in them to his example and influence. Brought up in the Old South Church, he returned to it when, after several years' residence in Roxbury, he again became an inhabitant of Boston; and in a memorial sermon his pastor, Rev. Dr. Manning, ascribes to him a controlling influence in the removal of that church from its old site, and its establishment in a church edifice within reach of its worshipers. While expressing his grateful sense of this material service, he does justice, and I am sure no more than justice, to the beneficent agency of his and my friend in promoting those supreme spiritual interests on

which alone rests the true prosperity of a Christian church.

Mr. Walley had also an honorable political record. He represented Boston in the Massachusetts Legislature for eight years, and for the last three years of the eight he was Speaker of the House. He was a Representative to Congress from his district for two terms, and during the Kansas-Nebraska conflict he was an able and earnest defender of freedom against the aggressions of the slave power. At the close of his second term, he was a candidate, but of what proved to be a minority, for the office of Governor of Massachusetts.

Mr. Walley was a loyal son of Harvard. He was an Overseer by election for nine years, and *ex officio*, as Speaker of the House, for three years. On the list of alumni are his sons, Henshaw Bates Walley (H. U. 1859) and William Phillips Walley (H. U. 1864, LL. B. 1866).

## STEPHEN MINOT WELD.

1826.

IF the members of my class had been asked at any time who of the class was more beloved than any other, I suppose that every one of them would have answered, "Stephen Weld." I do not mean that he was popular, in the vulgar sense of that term. He had none of the traits, arts, or ways by which one wins that title. He united, to a degree which I have seldom or never known beside, the simplicity of a child, the exuberant mirthfulness of an untamed boy, and the thoroughly formed manliness of spirit which could resist evil, surmount obstacles, and make a hopeful beginning of a vigorous life work. I doubt whether the Faculty loved him; and yet such a person as he would be a prime favorite with the present Faculty, so entirely has the pervading spirit of the college régime been revolutionized. He was full of fun and of frolic, and no one enjoyed as he did a practical joke, when it could do no harm. His laugh was joy-giving, and I seem to hear it as I write. Though not irregular in attendance on college exercises, I doubt whether



he studied much till his Senior year. Yet it was perfectly well understood that he all along had possessed the capacity and taste which he then began to show, and which were sure to make him an excellent scholar whenever he gave his mind to the work. We all recognized in him not only good nature and good fellowship, but a thorough nobleness of spirit and character, inborn and inbred. We should have gone to him to take the lead on any gay or festive occasion ; but we should have gone to him equally for sympathy under adverse circumstances, or for help which could be rendered only with labor and sacrifice.

Stephen Minot Weld was born in Boston in 1806. His father, William Gordon Weld, was an enterprising and for many years a successful ship-master and ship-owner, and distinguished himself by defeating some Algerine pirates who attacked him, and capturing two of their vessels. Subsequently, in our war of 1812, a vessel of his, under his own command, with a valuable cargo and a large amount of specie, was captured by a British frigate off Boston harbor. He had become, by the standard of the times, a rich man, but was so no longer. Several years before this loss, he had removed to Lancaster, and there Stephen was fitted for college, in the school of which I have already spoken. He must have commenced his preparation under the tuition of George B. Emerson.

He entered college at sixteen years of age, without the initial experience of the outside world which a boy gets by attending school away from home. He came with exuberant spirits, with a proclivity for play rather than for work, and with a mirth-provoking power that made him a favorite with the least industrious of his class, while his ingenuousness, his moral purity, and his keen sense of honor won the esteem and affection of those of the opposite type. His father died at the close of his Junior year. From that time he evidently thought more of the future and of his responsibilities in and for it than he had before. He became more studious, and his college work in the Senior year was in every respect creditable. He determined to be a teacher, and felt the necessity of first being a learner. During that and the following year, if my memory serves me aright, he reviewed with care the studies required for admission to college.

On graduating, Mr. Weld was employed for one year as an assistant teacher in the long-established boarding-school of Mr. Greene, at Jamaica Plain. In the following year he opened a similar school in the immediate neighborhood of Mr. Greene's. His mother joined him in the enterprise, taking charge of the housekeeping, and performing her full part in making for the boys under their united care not only a comfortable home, but one on which they

always looked back with pleasure and gratitude. She had several younger children to be educated. Of her older sons, William F. Weld was already in business, yet with no more than the remote prospect of the wealth which he afterward obtained, and he did everything in his power to eke out her slender income; forming habits of personal self-denial which lasted for life, in thus meeting the calls of filial duty. As Stephen prospered he of course came to share in this work with his brother; for there never was a time when for him the chief happiness of possessing was not the privilege of bestowing. His school grew rapidly in numbers and in reputation, and it is hardly too much to say that its reputation was national; for pupils came to it from every part of the country, and even from Cuba, Mexico, and Yucatan. It continued in undiminished success, till at the end of thirty years Mr. Weld thought himself entitled to the only rest which a man ever ought to seek,—a change of work.

In this case the change was not rest. In 1858 Mr. Weld was chosen President of the Metropolitan Railroad Company, then in its infancy; but he suffered so severely from overwork in the complicated affairs of the company that he felt compelled to resign the office in the following year. The only political offices which he ever held were as a

member of the Executive Council under Governors Clifford and Emory Washburn, and as presidential elector in 1864.

During the war of the rebellion Mr. Weld was second to no one in the country's service, giving time, money, counsel, and effort unsparingly, and always with a sound discretion that largely enhanced the value of whatever he gave or did. He was recognized by the citizens of West Roxbury as foremost in patriotic devotion among those at home or in the field, the living or the dead. Had he been a younger man, I know that he would have enlisted for active duty, and it was in his spirit and under his strong encouragement, that his eldest son, bearing his name (H. U. 1860),<sup>1</sup> entered the army, in which he held an important command with distinguished honor.

Mr. Weld was for nine years, and at the time of his death, one of the Overseers of the College, and among all its alumni there was not one more devoted to its best interests. Shortly before the war, I forget in what year, he had a class supper at his house, and invited his brother, William F. Weld, to meet us, for the purpose of enlisting him in some enterprise for the benefit of the College. What that enterprise should be, was the subject of

<sup>1</sup> Now a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College.

the evening's talk. The result was that Mr. Weld determined to erect a building, which should at once meet the actual need of a new dormitory and yield a fair interest on its value as an investment. In accordance with this purpose, he procured plans and estimates, and would have gone on with the building had not the war intervened. When the project was renewed, Stephen was no longer living, and Weld Hall is his brother's tribute to his memory.

Mr. Weld was generous and kind, not only in special channels of beneficence, but in every form and way. He never lost an opportunity of doing good, and no man could have been more ingenious and inventive than he was in discovering and creating such opportunities. It was said that in Jamaica Plain there could not be found an individual who had not in some way been indebted to him for good offices, and none that needed pecuniary help by loan or gift that had not received it from him. He died in 1867, after a short and painful illness, during which he was fully aware of its inevitably fatal issue, which he met with entire calmness and resignation. I was one of the officiating clergy at his funeral. The large church was crowded; and of the many occasions of the kind that I have witnessed, I have never seen one

at which there were such tokens of profound sorrow in the entire assembly. The whole community were in mourning for a man who had been every one's friend, and whom every one had loved.

## INCREASE SUMNER WHEELER.

1826.

INCREASE SUMNER WHEELER, the only child of Benjamin Wheeler, was born in Framingham in 1806. He had his preparatory education at the Framingham Academy, and passed through college with an honorable record as to both character and scholarship. He so distinguished himself by the closest attention to his college work that I doubt whether he was ever chargeable with a needless absence or a failure at recitation. He returned to Framingham on graduating, and remained a citizen of that town till his death in 1888. This course was prompted, as I suppose, in great part by the desire to minister to the comfort and happiness of his parents, from whom, as their need of his filial offices increased, the study or practice of a profession might have separated him.

Mr. Wheeler entered at first into the local commerce of his town; but after 1840, though still and to the last a busy man, he was engaged in no lucrative calling. Possessed of ample property, he devoted himself largely to the well-being of the

community in which he held the unsought but inevitable position of a, and for a long time the, leading citizen. He was a skilled financier, and as Director and President of the National Bank, and Trustee of the Savings Bank of his town, he was judicious in counsel and assiduous in the charge of their interests. He contributed largely in money and in personal supervision toward rendering Framingham beautiful, planting with his own hands many of the trees that adorn its streets. He had a large farm, which it was his aim to render useful rather than profitable, by the liberal compensation of those employed upon it, and by the introduction of improved stock and modes of culture for the benefit of the rural neighborhood. He took a very active interest in the schools of the town, and placed himself in intimate relation with the State Normal School there situated, befriending the teachers in all possible ways, and often supplementing the scanty resources of the pupils. He exercised an important influence over successive generations of young men, encouraging not a few in the difficult first steps by which a country boy enters on the pursuit of a liberal education, and supplying pecuniary aid when it was both needed and deserved. He was a diligent reader of the best books, and, while moderately conservative in his opinions, and especially in the religious be-

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lief which had moulded, guided, and gladdened his life, he kept himself in contact with fresh thought and advanced speculation. His friends, — and they were very many, — always found his house a home, and with all the refinements and comforts of later time he united a largeness of welcome and a breadth of hospitality, such as used to be witnessed in the houses of many country gentlemen half a century ago, but which to us old men are now hardly more than a happy memory.

Mr. Wheeler had but one son that survived infancy, — Frederic Wheeler (H. U. 1854), — a youth of great promise. He studied law at Cambridge, took the degree of LL. B. in 1857, and died toward the close of that year. His father thenceforward adopted, so to speak, the class of 1854, on Commencement Days never failed to spend a half-hour at its meetings, and was among the chief contributors to its class fund.

Mr. Wheeler was second to none in his love of Harvard College. He must have attended nearly as many Commencements as Dr. Pierce. I never knew him to be absent from a Commencement previous to that of 1887. From that he was detained by a severe attack of illness, from which he recovered sufficiently to take through the ensuing winter his daily morning ride on horseback. His last illness was sudden, brief, and painless. He had

always intended to number Harvard College among his legatees, and had, as I suppose, made provision to that effect in previous wills ; but in consequence of a circular which I issued, soliciting funds for the pecuniary endowment of our system of religious instruction and services, he executed shortly before his death a will in which he bequeathed to the College fifty thousand dollars for the support of religious worship.

## APPENDIX.

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### HENRY DUNSTER, FIRST PRESIDENT OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

It is hard to say when Harvard College began to be. Founded by the General Court in 1636, located at Cambridge, then Newtown, in 1637, and endowed by the bequest of John Harvard in 1638, it was first opened to pupils, probably, in the latter year; and, as a class graduated in 1642, there is reason to suppose that its earliest students had in view something corresponding to a university curriculum. Nor have we any reason to doubt the scholarly ability or the teaching power of Nathaniel Eaton, under whose auspices they commenced their course. Indeed, he must have had some gifts to compensate for his utter lack of graces; and he may have led the procession, not yet closed, of scholars of damaged reputation who seek in our American schools a career from which in their own country they have shut themselves out by their profligacy. However this may have been, he left for posterity a record of severity in discipline beyond the sufferance even of that iron age, and of a parsimony in the dietary of his scholars from which Squeers himself might have taken lessons. We

are glad that the title of President was not given to him, but was reserved for a man worthy of an honored name by the side of the most eminent of his successors.

When and where Henry Dunster was born we cannot determine with certainty. He was a native of Lancashire, and is supposed to have been born in or near Bury. But the only known baptismal record of his name bears the date of 1620, while there seems to be no doubt that he took his first degree at Cambridge in 1630, and it is beyond question that he entered on his office here in 1640. The probable solution of the difficulty is to suppose that the parish record preserves the name of a Henry Dunster else unknown, and that the President was born in some nook of Lancashire where no search has yet been made for his name, and whence his family migrated to the neighborhood of Bury. A letter from his father, still extant, shows him to have been a man of strong religious convictions and principles, and of the reform party in church and state. In both these respects Henry seemed to have yielded from the first to paternal influence, which must have been no little strengthened by his novitiate at the University of Cambridge, where Puritanism had already acquired a firm foothold, and where the broadest freedom of thought and speculation was encouraged. Dunster was, at the University, a contemporary of Ralph Cudworth, Henry More, Jeremy Taylor, and John Milton; and though they may not thus early have borne any part in the formation of a fellow-student's character, their subsequent history indicates the kind of nurture which they and Henry Dunster received in common from their Alma Mater.

Dunster remained at Cambridge till 1634, when he took his Master's degree. It was undoubtedly during his residence there as a graduate that he acquired his great proficiency in Oriental languages, in which he may have had as a fellow-student Joseph Mede, who remained at Cambridge as Fellow and Tutor through a whole long life, and had more of the learning that has become obsolete and valueless than any other man of his time.

We have for six years no clear knowledge of Dunster's condition or employments. He intimates in one of his writings that he was engaged for a time in teaching; but whom, when, or where, he does not say. He probably took orders in the English Church; for Cotton Mather speaks of his having exercised his ministry in England, and there are extant letters of his own which have the tone of a personal apology for abjuring the service of a Church which had become and willingly remained corrupt.

In 1640 he came to Boston, as we are told, "toward the latter end of the summer," and seems to have purchased property there, as he is said to have lived "on his own estate," which must have covered the site of the present Sears Building. The name of Dunster — probably his — appears for that year on the roll of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, in which any minister resident in Boston and not in the actual service of a church would have been not unlikely to enlist. But he can hardly have had time to establish himself when the College claimed him. In August of the very year of his arrival in the country, he was invited, with the

unanimous consent of ministers, elders, and magistrates, to take charge of the institution which had barely escaped infanticide at the hand of Eaton.

He seems to have been regarded at the outset as preëminently well suited for the office. Rev. Thomas Shepard, pastor of the Cambridge Church during the first nine years of his presidency, speaks of him as "a man, pious, painful, and fit to teach, and very fit to lay the foundations of the domestical affairs of the College, whom God hath much honored and blessed." He was much esteemed as a preacher, and the prestige of his ability and success in the pulpit must at that day have contributed greatly to the just appreciation of his academic services by the public at large. He was also a munificent donor to the College; for, beside skilled labor which transcends all pecuniary estimate, he gave to the institution one hundred acres of valuable land in "Shaw-sin," now Billerica, which he had probably purchased as a safe and lucrative investment for funds that he had brought from England. His liberality undoubtedly quickened that of his fellow-citizens, who contributed — a very few from their wealth, most of them from the depth of their poverty — gifts many of which can be regarded only as installments of the revenue that has accrued to Christian enterprises in every age from the widow's two mites. These mites were not always, indeed, paid in small coin, but often in corn, malt, parsnips, butter, and even living calves and poultry, all which were to be stored and utilized under the President's direction. The bills of the students were paid in commod

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ities, not infrequently in edibles of so perishable a character that payment would have been availing only in full term time, and a thrifty housewife would have been the most suitable treasurer. Dunster had oversight, too, of the work on the college building begun under Eaton, as also of the erection of the first president's house.

At the same time he appears to have been the sole teacher, and the instruction embraced not only the classic tongues, but Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. Some parts of the then required course transcend not only the attainment, but the easy imagining, of the foremost scholars now in our universities, and well merit record in the "Magnalia," in which they are given in detail. What would be thought in our degenerate days of requiring students at morning prayers to translate from the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, and at evening prayers to retranslate the English text of the New Testament into Greek? Latin was the only language authorized on the college premises, unless a special English exercise had been assigned. The college laws were written in Latin, and their whole tenor shows plainly enough that the maxim, *Ignorantia legis neminem excusat*, was in full force. After two admonitions, a third act of disobedience was punished by whipping, in which our fathers were not so far behind the age as is commonly supposed; for the last official whipping was performed at the English Cambridge while Dunster was there. This form of penal discipline was administered at the President's discretion on students under eighteen years of age; as to those of maturer years the advice and consent of the

Overseers were resorted to, not for mitigation of punishment, but to give it greater publicity. In ordinary cases the executive office was performed by the President himself. In the case of specially flagrant transgressions, when the solemnity was graced by the presence of dignitaries from beyond the college walls, the services of the prison-keeper were had in requisition.

The President did not confine his labors to the sons of the English colonists. Provision was made, by his express petition, for the education of Indian youth, and in consequence of his efforts a brick building, called the Indian College, was erected the year after his resignation. We have no record of the number of Indians who came under his charge; but the only graduate of that race whose name appears on our Catalogue must have entered college through his influence, and was for three college years (and probably for as many or more previous years) under his tuition. There can be little doubt that Indian boys were admitted to the college precincts for elementary instruction; but we can readily believe that, in the absence of easy electives, the regular curriculum was beyond the ability of these children of the forest, and that the most sanguine Christian philanthropy would have quailed before the task of initiating them into the Syriac tongue, or even of making them masters of the Hebrew without the aid — then generally spurned — of vowel points.

Yet other and less congenial services were demanded of the President by circumstances under his control, indeed, if it so be that the affections are subject to the



will. Rev. Jesse Glover sailed from England in the autumn of 1638, with a printing-press for the use of the colony. He died on his passage, and the press was set up in Cambridge, by direction of the magistrates and elders, "as an appendage to Harvard College." It remained the property of Glover's widow, and Dunster, in 1641, married her, and the press with her. His official residence thus became the first printing-office in New England, and the business was conducted under his oversight, and beneath his own roof, until his resignation. The earliest work of any importance that was printed here was the new metrical translation of the Psalms, designed to supersede that of Sternhold and Hopkins, which was deemed deficient equally in accuracy and in euphony. In the first edition of this work Dunster performed no more important office than that of proof-reader. But it gave little satisfaction, unless it were to the reverend divines of whose joint labor it was the issue. Indeed, the excellent Shepard was so aggrieved by its lack of poetical merit as to assail it in a piece of satirical doggerel, which still remains in evidence that the translators of the Psalms were not the poorest versifiers in the colony. A revised and improved edition was called for, and the work was "committed to the Reverend Mr. Henry Dunstar, President of Harvard College, one of the greatest masters of the Oriental languages that hath been known in these ends of the earth." We have no reason to doubt the learned skill and critical acumen with which Dunster performed this labor of love, and we should wrong his memory if we did not admit a very

considerable improvement under his hands both in diction and in rhythm ; yet we are compelled to account his experiment at poetry as the one misadventure of his life, and to regard him as for his time among the conspicuous illustrations of the adage, *Poeta nascitur, non fit.*

We have abundant testimony that Dunster, during his entire administration of the College, was deemed upright, judicious, and faithful to the utmost of human ability ; that his instruction was considered as of the very best ; that his discipline met with entire approval ; and that those who were most willing to let him go could find not the slightest ground for blame or for scanty praise in his character or conduct, personal or official. Indeed, after his death he is spoken of by the most rigid of the Puritan divines with a tender reverence, which could have been due only to the surviving memory of manifold merits and excellences.

His difficulties had their origin solely in his conscientious dissent from the neighboring churches in belief and practice concerning the ordinance of baptism. His first marriage with Elizabeth Glover was childless. By a subsequent marriage with another Elizabeth, whose surname is unknown, he became the father of several children. The eldest two or three of these were duly baptized. But meanwhile, by careful study of the Scriptures and of ecclesiastical authorities, he had become convinced that the baptism of infants was not a rite either of apostolic institution or of primitive observance, and he therefore omitted to present for baptism a child

born to him in 1653. He shortly afterward stated his opinion with reference to this rite during a public service at Cambridge, in the place of worship which he and his pupils regularly attended, in which, too, he had been for several years a favorite preacher, and to the people whom he had served as their acting pastor during a vacancy in the pastorate. The alarm was at once given and taken. A conference was held in Boston between Dunster and nine leading ministers of Boston and the neighboring towns. As he remained unconvinced, the General Court passed a vote recommending to the Overseers of the College and the selectmen of the several towns "not to admit or suffer any that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith to be continued in the office or place of teaching." Dunster, knowing perfectly well that this vote was aimed at him, proffered his resignation, which was accepted with evident alacrity, and without the slightest token of appreciation, gratitude, or kind feeling, on the 25th of October, 1654. He with difficulty obtained permission to remain with his sick family through the ensuing winter in the house which he had built, and received only in part, and after long delay, the sum confessedly due to him from the College at the time of his resignation.

But this was not all. He was presented to the County Court by the Grand Jury for "disturbance of the Ordinances of Christ" by his speech on infant baptism, which, but for its subject, would not have been abnormal or inconsistent with the notions and habits of the time. He was sentenced by the court to be publicly ad-

monished on the next lecture day at Cambridge, by such magistrate as might then be present. He was subsequently indicted before the same court, admonished, and put under bonds to appear before the Court of Assistants in Boston, for failing to offer for baptism yet another child, born after his resignation.

After leaving Cambridge he lived for a little while in Charlestown, at the house of Thomas Gould, who afterward became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston. He then removed to Scituate, where, under the milder régime of the Plymouth Colony, there were already some persons inclined to his way of thinking on the subject of baptism. Here he must have found congenial society in the families of superior intelligence, culture, and refinement, from which sprang not a few of the most distinguished men of subsequent generations. He preached often, though with no stated charge. He took strong ground against the persecution of the Quakers, while earnestly opposed to their opinions and practices. There is ample testimony to the distinguished regard, affection, and reverence in which he was held in the home of his exile. He died there on the 27th of February, 1659. He provided in his will for his burial in Cambridge. The site of his grave in the old Cambridge burying-ground has been ascertained within a few years; the slab that covered it has been identified, and it now forms a part of the monument which bears an inscription commemorative of his claims on the enduring gratitude of the alumni of Harvard College.

A volume devoted to the descendants of Henry Dun-

ster is of no little interest as illustrating the law of heredity. Of course, as the book was prepared by a Dunster, it does not amplify any family record of demerit; but it contains a singularly rich catalogue of just such faithful, worthy, and useful men and women as would indicate the succession to ancestral virtues and merits. Indeed, the student in this department of biology can find no more fruitful field for research than in the genealogies of the early families in the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies.

CHARLES CHAUNCY, SECOND PRESIDENT OF  
HARVARD COLLEGE.

CHARLES CHAUNCY (or Chancy, as the name is spelled in one of his extant publications) was born in 1592, and is registered as having been baptized on the 5th of November in that year, in the church at Yardley-Bury in Hertfordshire. He was the son of George Chauncy and Agnes, daughter of Edward Welsh and by a previous marriage the widow of Edward Humberstone. Both of his parents, there is reason to believe, were of families of long standing and high respectability. He was early sent to the Westminster School, then second to none of the English public schools, and he there incurred the peril, in common with the Parliament of Great Britain, of perishing by the Gunpowder Plot, which, if successful, would have utterly destroyed the school buildings, and thus have quenched in the kindling one of the greater lights of our Western world. From

Westminster young Chauncy was transferred to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1613, was made Master of Arts in 1617, and Bachelor of Divinity in 1624. He continued his residence as Fellow of the College for several years, was chosen Professor of Hebrew by the Heads of the Houses, and, on the interposition of the Vice-Chancellor to secure that place for one of his own kindred, was appointed to the Greek professorship. During his residence at the University he wrote several Latin and Greek poems, which are preserved, and which are excellent specimens of verse-making so far as quantity is concerned, but will better bear the ordeal of scanning than that of scrutiny as to their wealth of thought or feeling. Not dissimilar is the judgment that must be passed on a Latin oration delivered at the departure of certain Spanish ambassadors who had been feasted and created Masters of Arts at Cambridge. Of this discourse his descendant and eulogist is fully justified in saying, "The style as well as the date shows that it belongs to the epoch at which it was delivered." It is very certain that Cicero could not have written it. These performances, however, if not themselves purely classical, indicate a rare familiarity with the classic tongues and facility in their use, and we have abundant proof that their writer was regarded as one of the most learned men of the University. There are references in the correspondence of Archbishop Usher to Chauncy's cognizance of Hebrew manuscripts, and to certain labors of his on the Samaritan Pentateuch. He must have published a book,

probably on some subject of Oriental research ; for there is extant the translation of a Hebrew anagram in his honor, which begins, " Arise and look into the book the learned author has written."

After a brief ministry at Marston-Lawrence, in 1621 Chauncy became vicar of Ware. The living, then in the gift of the Masters and Fellows of Trinity College, was worth about two hundred pounds per annum, — an income of a purchasing power more than equal to that of a thousand pounds at the present day. The new vicar found himself at once on a bed of thorns. He was conscientiously opposed to the " Book of Sports," which rather enjoined than permitted the desecration of Sunday, and expressly prohibited preaching on Sunday afternoon, as an unwarrantable interference with the noisy recreations of which, in many places, the church green must have been the centre. Chauncy attempted to evade the law by catechising as many as would come to church in the afternoon, and there is still extant a single copy of a catechism bearing his name on the title-page, and doubtless employed in this service. His Bishop (Laud) took umbrage at this endeavor to utilize the disowned half of the Lord's day, and pronounced " catechising as bad as preaching."

In 1629, Chauncy was arraigned before the Court of High Commission for having preached severely against the papistical tendencies of the English Church under Laud and his sympathizers. The specially offensive passage in his sermon averred " that idolatry was admitted into the church ; that not only the prophets of

Baal, but Baal himself was received, and houses multiplied for their entertainment." The result of this affair was a submission to the Bishop, in what form or on what conditions we do not know.

In 1633, he was again prosecuted before the same court for opposing the railing-in of the communion-table at Ware. In consequence of this charge he was suspended from the ministry, imprisoned, condemned to pay heavy costs, and at length to make a humble confession and recantation ; Laud, who had meanwhile become Archbishop of Canterbury, being, as in the former instance, appellate judge. This recantation — worried out of him by a process lasting two full years, and reducing him almost, or quite, to poverty — was hardly made before it was bitterly repented. It was shortly followed by a pamphlet entitled "Retractation of Mr. Charles Chancy, formerly minister of Ware in Harfordshire, wherein is proved the unlawfulness and danger of Railing in Altars or Communion Tables. Written with his own hand before his going to *New England*, in the year 1637. Published by his own direction for the satisfaction of all such who either are, or justly might be offended with his scandalous submission, made before the High Commission Court *Feb. 1, Anno, 1635.*"

The controversy indicated by this title was by no means so trivial as it now seems. The question at issue was whether the Eucharist is a commemorative rite or a sacrifice, and, consequently, whether the holy table is a table of Christian communion, or an altar to be closely approached by priests alone, as hallowed by the deifica-



tion of the bread and wine. It was not for mere decency and order in worship, but to designate the holy table with the sacred elements upon it as itself an object of worship and religious awe, and to encourage kneeling, bowing, and prostration before it, that altar railings were introduced under Laud, and they were therefore more or less vehemently opposed by all of the clergy not papistically inclined. Chauncy's pamphlet, thus understood, is an able argument as well as an earnest appeal. It is logical in its form, consisting of six successive syllogisms, in each of which the major premise is rightly assumed from the general consent of Christian men, while the minor is proved and illustrated in detail. It has at the present moment no validity as against a very appropriate and wholly unobjectionable feature of church architecture; but were any now existing tendency to ritualistic fetich-worship substituted for the altar rails, the reprinting of the tract would be neither untimely nor unprofitable.

For his brief submission to Laud's tyrannical exactions Chauncy never forgave himself, and in his last will, after an interval of more than thirty years, he names "with mourning and self-abhorrence" his "sinful compliances with and conformity unto vile human inventions, devill-worship, and hell-bred superstitions."

The spirit of this tract accounts sufficiently for what followed. At the time when Chauncy was writing it he was no longer vicar of Ware, and he refers in his Preface to "Master Isaacke Craven the present Vicar of Ware," as having taken an active part in his prosecu-

tion. He was undoubtedly either deprived of his living or compelled to resign it, and in the spring of 1638 he landed in Plymouth, Massachusetts. Of the detailed events connected with his embarkation and voyage we have no record. He was received with a hearty welcome by the Plymouth colonists, and was immediately employed as associate minister with Rev. Mr. Reyner. There was a very strong desire on the part of the people to settle him permanently as one of their pastors; but he declined their invitation on account of certain peculiar opinions of his, in favor of immersion in the baptism whether of infants or of adults, of the celebration of the Eucharist in the evening only, as the Lord's *supper*, and of closing every Sunday by that celebration. On the subject of baptism the members of the church went so far as to propose a compromise by permitting each of the pastors to conduct the rite in his own preferred method. After three years' service at Plymouth, he was chosen pastor of the church at Scituate, and, strangely enough, was reordained, — furnishing, so far as we know, the only instance in which episcopal ordination has been treated as invalid and void, but yet a not unnatural retaliation for the contempt for presbyterian ordination sometimes expressed by prelatists even in our own time. At the period of Chauncy's settlement in Scituate a portion of the church seceded, and there ensued between the two ministers a sharp controversy on the Christian ordinances, and especially on the mode of baptism. It is to be inferred that Chauncy practiced the immersion of infants, which would have created less

repugnancy at Scituate than elsewhere, as there was already in the town a Baptist church, if not fully organized, in the process of formation. His ministry, though not unsuccessful, was by no means happy. He was imperfectly supported, and yet thought his people amply able to sustain him in comfort. He was impatient of opposition, and would have been glad to exercise a beneficent autocracy; but other judgments and wills were often found to be as decided and strenuous as his own. He was a man of great learning and of scholarly tastes and habits, and, though he was in one of the most intelligent communities in New England, as to a large part of his intellectual life and endowments he must have felt the lack equally of sympathy and of scope. His labors, too, must have tasked his strength to the utmost. Beside his work as a minister, he practiced medicine to a considerable extent, and with no little reputation; and at the same time he was fitting his own sons for college, and receiving as pupils young men who were preparing for the ministry.

Meanwhile, the religious revolution in England had been complete; the enemies of prelacy were supreme in church and in state; and the people of Ware, bearing their banished vicar in affectionate memory, invited him to return and to minister to them under the new dispensation. He responded favorably, and went to Boston to take measures for the removal of his family to England. But when he was on the eve of embarking, the Overseers of Harvard College (November 2, 1654) sent a deputation to him, inviting him to accept the presidency

of the College, with a salary of one hundred pounds per annum. It was, at the same time, signified to him that he would be expected to refrain from the endeavor to propagate his own opinions with regard to Christian ordinances. This he could do with a safe conscience, as in his new office he would hold no pastoral relation, and could not therefore have any hope of realizing his own preferences in the actual administration of a church.

It may be doubted whether sufficient heed has been given to the light thrown upon Chauncy's character by the mere fact of his election to the presidency of the College. His electors were the very men who had virtually expelled Dunster for his divergence from them on a subject on which Chauncy's views were evidently very offensive to them; and he belonged, also, to another jurisdiction, the Plymouth Colony, which, though by no means latitudinarian in its tolerance, was reproached with harboring heresies to which the Massachusetts Bay colonists would give no quarter. Had he not, as a man of learning, of dignified presence and massive character, towered head and shoulders above the divines in and about Boston, and been deemed too richly endowed with the best gifts of mind and heart for the colonies to afford to lose him, it is impossible that he should have been chosen. The concession must have then seemed as great as would now the choice of a president of the school of Bain or of Herbert Spencer by the trustees of a college of reputed orthodoxy.

President Chauncy was inaugurated on the 29th of November, 1654, and remained in office seventeen

years. We have reason to believe that he fully sustained to the last the reputation which led to his choice. He continued to be an indefatigable student. He is spoken of as having "conveyed all the liberal arts" to his pupils, and we have no record of any associate teacher. He "moderated their disputations and other exercises" in person, *wittily*, as Cotton Mather says, though probably with the wit which is next of kin to wisdom, rather than with what in our time has usurped the name. He gave his instruction, for the most part, "in Latin of Terentian phrase," which might seem to scholars of our day ill suited to academic use, and this Latin he is said to have spoken "fluently." The Hebrew Scriptures were still read in the hall every morning, and the Greek in the evening, followed by a learned and eloquent exposition by the President, who on Sunday mornings extended it to nearly twice the normal length of a modern sermon. He was greatly prized as a preacher, and justly so; for, as Mather tells us, "he was an exceeding plain preacher," and acquiesced in the complaint made by another sensible divine, "that too many ministers, like unskillful archers, shoot over the heads, and much more over the hearts of their hearers." The discipline and management of the College were in all important particulars very much the same as in Dunster's time. Nor does there seem to have been any abatement of interest in the College on the part of the community, or any decline of the President's popularity and influence with his declining years. The last class that graduated under him was the largest since the

foundation ; and though it numbered but eleven, those eleven probably bore a greater ratio to the population of the infant Colony than all the graduates of our colleges for the present year will bear to the population of the State.

The only thing to be regretted in this prosperous term of office is the incumbent's poverty, and the niggardliness — greater than there need have been — of the colonial authorities that had in charge the financial interests of the College. The President complains that he is incurring heavy personal indebtedness, and that the income of an estate in England — supposed to have yielded about sixty pounds per annum — alone enables him to maintain his place. The Indian corn in which he is principally paid he finds it difficult to sell, and "if any part thereof by entreaty be put off, twelve pence or eight pence in the bushel must be lost. There is no ground belonging to the President to keep cattle upon, so that neither milk, butter, nor cheese can be had but by the penny." At a later period, in a memorial to the General Court, he says that "the President hath no fit provision, either of land to keep so much as one cow or horse upon, or habitation to be dry and warm in." This application resulted in a vote of five pounds a quarter in addition to the previous salary.

President Chauncy preserved his vigor of mind and his strenuousness of purpose unimpaired to the last. The attempt was made, one winter's day, to dissuade him from fulfilling an engagement to preach, and it was said to him, "Sir, you will certainly die in the pulpit ;"

whereupon, as if determined not to perish midway in a snowdrift, he plunged through the drift with almost juvenile alertness and energy, replying, "How happy should I be, if what you say might prove true!" When urged to remit his excessive labor, and to seek such relief as a veteran worker could fairly claim, he was wont to answer, *Oportet imperatorem stantem mori*, — "A commander ought to die on his feet." This was almost the case with him. At the Commencement of 1671 he made "a farewell oration wherein he took a solemn farewell of his friends," in the assurance that it was his last public appearance. He was then in his eightieth year, and seems to have retained, not only the vigor, but even much of the fire of youth. But the end was approaching. As the year waned, his strength failed. On the 19th of February, 1671-2, he lay dying. The pastor of the Cambridge church, after praying by his bedside, asked him to give a sign of his heavenly hope. "Whereat," writes Mather, "the speechless old man lifted up his hands as high toward heaven as he could lift them, and so his ripened soul flew thither."

It is sad to relate that, as he had been in a straitened condition ever since his first troubles in Ware, he left his family poor. His wife had passed on before him. Most of his children had ceased to be dependent on him; but perhaps one daughter, and certainly an infirm son, had remained under his charge, and one of his sons in a memorial to the General Court says that "now, after his decease, his children are left in a very poor condition, especially our brother, that through the Lord's

afflicting hand is so far distempered as to render him wholly unable to do anything toward his own maintenance." In answer to this petition, the magistrates ordered the payment of arrearages due, and also of ten pounds per annum to the deacon of Cambridge for the support of the invalid.

While we cannot excuse the scanty justice of our colonial government in the provision made for our first presidents, there are some considerations that may be urged in abatement of the charge. The College was probably to a greater degree dependent on the government than had been anticipated at the outset. Private donations had been, not indeed few, but for the most part small, many of them in commodities for immediate use, and few of them in a form in which they could be funded. At President Chauncy's death the entire funds of the College could not have exceeded a thousand pounds, and all of this sum was needed to put the buildings into decent repair. The greater part of the support of the College was met by direct taxation, and it is a matter of less surprise than regret that the Legislature should have been reluctant to burden the entire colony in aid of an institution of which few enjoyed the direct benefit.

Beside the works which have been already mentioned, President Chauncy published two occasional sermons delivered at Cambridge, a volume of twenty-six sermons, printed in London in 1659, and the "*Antisynodalia Scripta Americana*," — a tract in opposition to the Half-way Covenant (so called), under which a synod of New England ministers had sanctioned the baptism of children of persons not in full communion with the church.



President Chauncy's wife was Catharine, daughter of Robert Eyre, of Wiltshire, England. He had six sons and two daughters. His eldest daughter married Rev. Gershom Bulkeley, the minister, successively, of New London and of Wethersfield, Connecticut. His sons were all graduated at Harvard College, and four of them became ministers, three of these being also physicians. One of the sons, not a clergyman, was for several years an eminent physician in Boston, and afterwards emigrated to Barbadoes. It is believed that all who have borne the name of Chauncy and Chauncey in this country are descendants of the President. Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy, of Boston, who held for many years a foremost place among the clergy of Massachusetts, was his great-grandson. Hon. Charles Chauncy, of Philadelphia, who as a lawyer had no superior in his time, and who adorned his high position by all the virtues which could make it worthily illustrious, was a descendant of a later generation. Rev. Charles Chauncy Shackford, who was first scholar of the class of 1835 (H. U.), and was for many years Professor of Rhetoric in Cornell University, is of the same venerable stock.

The portrait of President Chauncy in Memorial Hall was transmitted in the line of the descendants of Rev. Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, and thus came into the possession of Charles William Chauncy, M. D., of Portsmouth, N. H. (H. U. 1819). Perhaps no physician of his time entered upon his profession with fairer prospect of eminence than he. After graduating in the medical department of Harvard College, he pursued his studies in

London, Paris, Germany, and Italy, and brought home six octavo volumes of notes, principally on the physiology, diseases, and treatment of the eye. With a costly library, and instruments of the most approved pattern, he established himself in his native place, and almost immediately, by successful operations and the cure of cases that had been abandoned as hopeless, gained a reputation which is seldom acquired till after many years of practice. In 1834 he was invited to fill a temporary vacancy in the Berkshire Medical College. After entering upon his duties, in the midst of a lecture, he was seized with a sudden fit of insanity, from which he recovered but partially and for a little while. During his seeming convalescence he disposed of his valuable effects, his ancestor's portrait included, at pitifully small prices, and the writer of this sketch redeemed the portrait from the hands into which it fell, in behalf of Harvard College, at the charge of President Quincy. Dr. Chauncy died at the New Hampshire insane asylum in 1864.

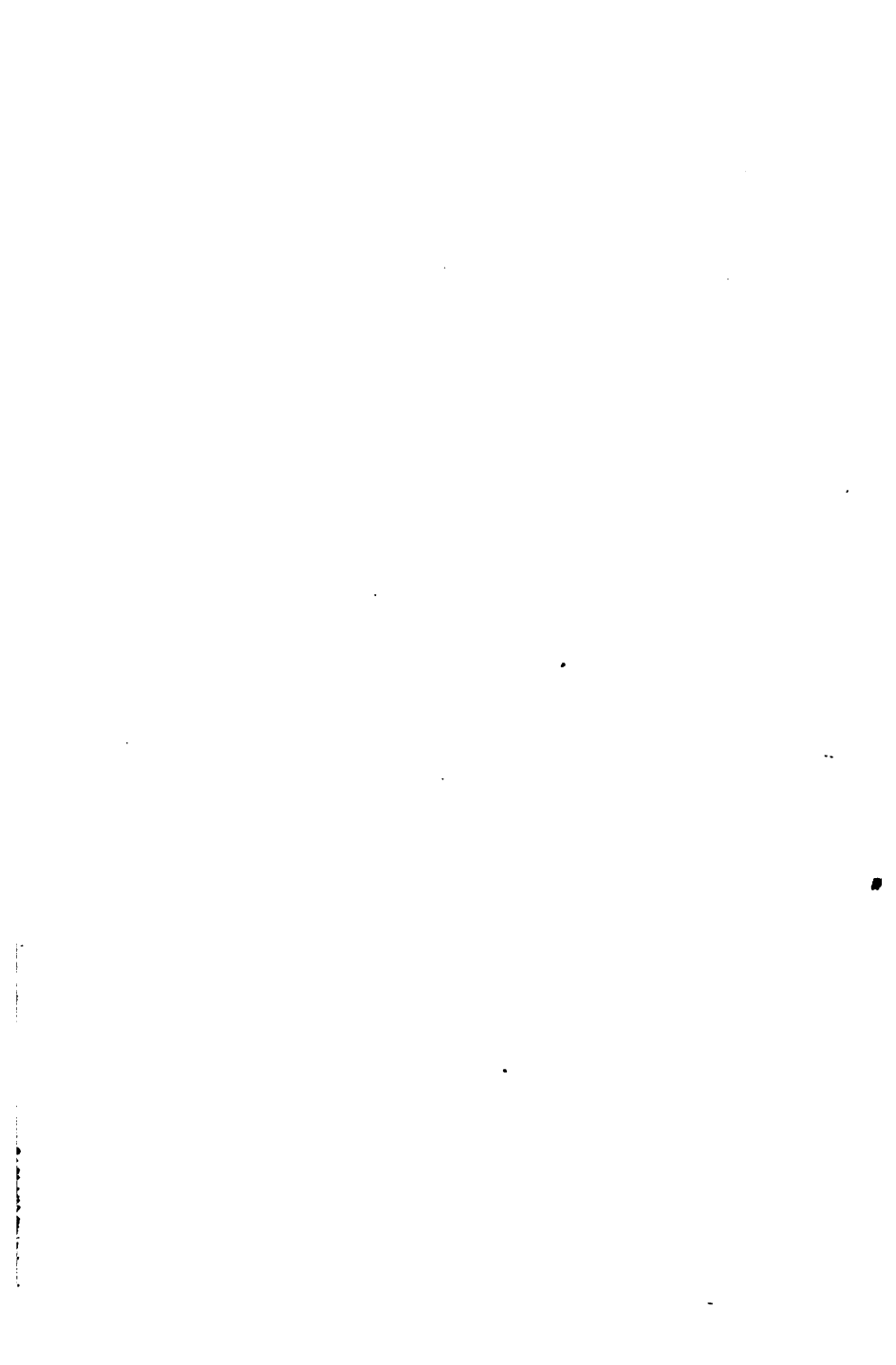
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